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Art. I. *The History of Provençal Poetry.* By M. Fauriel. 3 vols.  
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AN historian of the old Troubadours has wisely remarked, that no spectacle is more sublime than that of a barbarous people struggling successfully to attain a state of civilization. Such a struggle he calls a chaos in ferment, producing a new world.\*

All the finer faculties which distinguish reasonable beings, are then seen in gradual display, so far as the circumstances of such a people permit their development. All obstacles to progress yield to the energy with which those faculties are exercised ; and notwithstanding the fluctuations to which human things are subject, civilization has in the main, so steady a tendency onward, as to justify our confidence in the good prospects of every race. Though, therefore, reverses too often follow the most prosperous conditions of society, it is not irrational to suppose, that the career of great nations at least might, by a wiser policy, be moulded into a system, capable of producing better and lasting results.

The subject which suggested the foregoing remark to M. Millot,—the history of the Troubadours,—has since his time been deeply investigated ; and successive spectacles like that contemplated by him, occurring at long intervals in a period of at least two thousand years, have been presented in the history of the South of France, the original scene of Troubadour refinement, which, in its cradle, extended from the Alps to the Pyrenees. This period ranges from the sixth century, before

\* M. Millot.

the Christian era, until the fourteenth century afterwards; and although at no portion of that time did a high degree of civilization utterly extinguish barbarism there in any class, still two epochs in particular have occurred at which extraordinary progress was made. The first connects the days of Cicero with those of Tacitus, and even of Lucian. During this time, Marseilles, one of the chief cities of the region in question, was not only the seat of a flourishing commerce, but also that of the fine arts, and of literature, spread by her example far and wide throughout Gaul, Spain, and probably Britain.\* The success of Marseilles in architecture, for instance, is attested by ruins which are still the admiration of the enlightened inquirer; and the influence of her literature is even now perceptible in the language of the people, after seventeen centuries of political revolutions. The second example is that of the Provençals; who after resisting the power of the northern barbarians perhaps longer than any other nation of the west, created in the eleventh century by their poetry a new form of refinement, long the model of polite letters to every country of Europe.

Among the numerous writers who have examined the history of this period in various lights, there is one who deserves our continued and most attentive study. Endowed with great powers of discrimination, a prodigious extent of learning, and highly enlightened views, he has proved himself capable of unravelling *almost* all the perplexities of that eventful history.

This writer is M. Claude Fauriel, late professor of foreign literature in the faculty of letters in Paris, whose extraordinary capacity is here mentioned with a slight qualification, only in order the more correctly to open an application of his most admirable works to their best purpose—the universal spread of that civilization of which he appears to be the ablest commentator of our time.†

The numerous productions of M. Fauriel's pen attest how well he was prepared to be the historian of *all* civilization; and it is deeply to be regretted that the circumstances of his life, which, to the great honour of his character, compelled a distraction ruinous to his powers, did not permit him to devote those powers exclusively to the task he was so well fitted to discharge.

In his 'History of Provençal Poetry' he has traced the elements of that delightful and important subject with unwearied

\* Agricola was educated in Marseilles; and one of his best acts in Britain was to establish schools for the natives.

† There are points, as, for instance, the influence of laws, upon which M. Fauriel is inferior to Herder. On other points he is superior to the great German.



patience, and with inexhaustible learning, to the Greeks, to the Romans, to the Arabs, to the Jews, and even to the several aboriginal races of Gaul, the Aquitanians, and Celts. But he has rendered a far greater service to the student and to the statesman, in disclosing, in this work, the great sources of European civilization, whilst appearing to be only busied in a deep literary inquiry. His explanation of the motives which led to the adoption of the 'History of Provençal Poetry,' as the commencement of his proposed examination of all foreign literature, places this point in a striking light.

'Our love of the sublime,' says he, 'encouraged as it is by polite letters and the fine arts, is developed like our other faculties, according to fixed laws, and under the influence of circumstances, generally difficult, and often impossible to be analyzed, but which it is of great importance to scrutinize with care.'

'The intellectual pursuits of all nations having their common origin in the wants and feelings implanted in us by nature, share our common tendency towards improvement—the progress of the child to youth, that of the youth to manhood, and so on from one step to another in the scale of humanity. But this general tendency is diversely affected by different influences, being quickened by some, and checked by others. Climate, soil, the social condition of nations, their religion, commercial relations, wars, conquests, and many other things, modify the original foundations of every literature, so as to create in each a peculiar character, and give to each beauties or defects which settle its rank in the scale of art.'

'This fact connects the history of the literature of a country with that of its civilization; in which point of view chiefly I propose to trace the history of Provençal poetry.'

'I cannot hope to take an adequately minute survey of the whole of so vast a field; but I shall be at liberty to select certain portions of it, upon which I may be able to throw a new and satisfactory light. I may perhaps also be able to illustrate the subject with the aid of inquiries into the character of one or two systems of literature hitherto known only to a few scholars; or, if favoured with the public approbation, I may attempt to collect the grand characteristics of the literature of all nations into one compact body of observations, so as to offer a sketch of the general history of the human mind.'

'In reference to these objects, peculiar circumstances have directed my attention in the first instance to the history of *Provençal poetry*.

'This literature is not only in itself the first in date of all others in modern Europe, but it is that which, from the earliest point of time, and for the longest period, most influenced the character of all other European literature; consequently, none of the others could be traced without leading directly to this. The study of the early German, Italian, and Spanish writers would have been incomplete,

except by the frequent use of those of Provence, from whom they all borrowed so largely ; so that upon several occasions I should of necessity have had to give an obscure and broken history of Provençal literature itself, which, therefore, it appeared to me to be wiser to draw up at once in a complete and connected form.

‘ This conclusion was adopted by me the more readily, inasmuch as Provençal literature has been of late much studied throughout Europe. M. Raynouard’s collection of the Provençal poets has given them a new renown. His valuable works upon their language and style have produced analogous works of great merit in other countries, as in Italy, from the pen of Galvani of the Count Perticari, and of Monti, himself a distinguished poet ; and in Germany, from Wilhelm Schlegel, and M. Diez, who have published a history of Provençal poetry.’\*

M. Fauriel’s lectures do not in form realise this spirited sketch ; but it will not be difficult from his rich materials, to give an analysis of his views in rigorous conformity to his own account of them. He sets out with a description of the Provençal literature in itself, and of its influence, and then returns to the history of Greek and Roman civilization in the south of Gaul, in order to explain the elevated character of that literature. It may be more useful to trace directly the history of all the various phases of the same period, from our earlier knowledge of it, so as to demonstrate how that Greek and Roman civilization happened not to have had a better issue, than each of them to become what must be called an awful ruin, however splendidly it revived in the middle ages.

The Greek colony of Marseilles was founded 600 years before our era ; and during nearly 400 years it was engaged in a series of struggles and wars with the neighbouring tribes, and also with the Carthaginians and Etruscans ; and in raising that vast commerce which placed it on a par with the most powerful nations of antiquity. About two centuries more passed in an intimate alliance with Rome, when Marseilles and its own colonies enjoyed the greatest prosperity. Those colonies extended along the Mediterranean into Spain, and into the interior of Gaul far beyond Arles and Nismes. The coins and statues of the Greeks attest their influence in these regions ;† and their language, which was certainly known there in very remote

\* Preface to the History of Provençal Poetry, vol. I, p. vi. viii.

† At Toulouse a coin which has a Greek inscription, and the mark of Greek worship, is common. It is found in no other place. Yet it is known that the people of Toulouse were barbarians. At Frejus there was found in the time of the learned Peiresc, in the ruins of a Massilian temple, a cameo, with a sort of parody of the gathering of the olives—a very common subject of Greek art. Young girls are represented in the trees beating down, not the fruit, but little cupids perched upon the branches.

times, may be familiarly recognised in some words used by the people to this day. The religious festivals of the Greeks were remarkable for the poetical and graceful character of the songs, and dances with which they were celebrated; and the adoption of this popular mode of worship by the Gauls, is proved by architectural remains on the one hand, and on the other by the length of time during which the people of the south of Gaul clung to those songs and dances. It is certain that the use of them survived for ages the regular establishment of Christianity by the state, and they thus became mingled with its observances, in defiance of the opposition of the clergy. In Limoges the people used to assemble in their church at the anniversary of their patron saint; and at the end of every psalm they chanted in the vulgar tongue the words, 'Saint Martial pray for us, and we will dance to you;' whereupon they danced together in a body within the very walls of the church itself. Upon Ascension day, the same thing occurred; but on that occasion the dance took place in an adjoining meadow. At Chalons the people long followed a similar practice; being the remains of paganism, which they preserved from their Greek and Roman forefathers besides other usages derived from the Celts.

Another instance is very remarkable. At Rome the goddess Flora was worshipped, in honour of the fruitfulness of the earth in Spring. In that season, therefore, her games were celebrated by a race of naked women, among whom prizes were distributed by the magistrates as in the other public games. Incredible as it may appear, it is, nevertheless, certain that in the south of France, and late in Christian times, those very sports of Flora were exhibited at the same season. At Arles they were long known, and they consisted of gymnastic sports, of wrestling, and leaping; and they closed with the races of naked women for prizes. These prizes were always given by the public authorities, and at the public expense. The whole of these ceremonies were regulated by law, and they were not abolished until the sixteenth century, through the influence of a sermon preached by a Capucin monk.

.In 1551, a provincial council, at Narbonne, denounced these pagan usages, as they had been condemned by another council nine centuries before; and in 1645 a friend of the celebrated Gassendi Capucin published a similar announcement in a pamphlet, entitled 'A Complaint of the unchristian manners of the people of Provence,' which entered into a long detail of the exhibition of dances, and theatrical lays, upon the Feast of St. Lazarus, as if the days of paganism were revived. Nothing proves more satisfactorily the deep traces the Greeks and Romans had left in the south;—of which parallels exist in England.



Greek inscriptions, of the purest taste, have been found near Marseilles. One, for instance, upon the tomb of an unknown pair, runs thus : ' Here are two bodies, but one spirit.' Another is more remarkable for its allusion to the Pythagorean opinions which were revived at the date of this inscription. It is an epitaph upon a young sailor, who addresses the passer-by in these words :—

' O thou, who wanderest along this shore, and listenest to the wave of the sea, hear my words. Like thee I was a wanderer ; and young as the protectors of the sailor—the young gods of Amycles. I was not blessed by the ties of marriage—so dear to the immortals. A sailor, I roamed upon the waters ; and now in the tomb, which I owe to my employers' piety, I am for ever free from toil and disease, from fatigue and from care—evils to which the living body only is subject. Among the dead, a portion come again upon earth, others are enrolled among the dancing stars of heaven. I belong to the latter choir, as my reward for following the will of the gods.'

So zealously did the early Massilians cultivate their national literature, that their Homer was celebrated among the ancients, who had adopted the plan of Solon, for multiplying extensively popular editions of his two poems. Thus the gloomy ideas of the Druids were shaken in Gaul by the livelier usages of the Greeks, long before the Roman conquest introduced great political changes, and gradually led the way to new manners, of which those of the Greeks continued to form an essential part, to a late period in the middle ages.

How long the Greeks of Gaul influenced even the manners of the Romans, may be inferred from the fact recorded by Tacitus concerning Agricola, that ' he had acquired both a taste for literature and a purity of character, at Marseilles, where he was educated, and where Greek refinement was combined with the simple manners of a province.'

Besides Marseilles, and its immediate Greek dependencies, the Romans founded in Narbonne, as early as one hundred and eighteen years before our era, a purely Roman colony, which was the source of a most influential Roman civilization in south-western Gaul, and concurred with the subsequent conquest of the whole country, to establish in it new manners, new learning, and a new religion, all of which were intimately moulded with those of Greece, as well as with the remains of the old religion, and with the manners of the aboriginal tribes.

M. Fauriel is quite aware that the influence of the Greeks in Gaul, however important, was inferior in power and consequences to that of the Romans; and he takes some pains to distinguish the respective characters and consequences of both of those influ-

ences, attributing the inferior progress of the Greeks to their inferior degree of sympathy with their barbarian neighbours; and the superiority of the Romans, as much to their greater humanity as to the predominance of their arms. The inquiry on these heads would have been carried further with advantage. It is capable of demonstration, that the hostile spirit which prevailed between the Greeks and the native Gauls was a mere effect of the prejudice and oppressive conduct of the former, and that it led necessarily to their isolation and helplessness, when in after times they needed native allies in their last fatal war against Julius Cæsar. The very same evil was experienced by the Romans in another form. Their system of universal conquest was defeated by its exciting feelings of deadly hostility on every frontier, when principles of humanity would have given permanence to a more extensive empire. All the victorious barbarians, says M. Fauriel, with truth, had no design to destroy Roman civilization. Many of them, on the contrary, respected the religion of the conquered, their mode of worship, their language, their laws, their municipal system, their arts, and usages of all kinds. For a century, at least, after their successful inroads, the literature of Gaul preserved its previously distinguished character; and, as he shows convincingly, whole nations of these barbarians, such as Visigoths and Burgundians, were strongly disposed to adopt that civilization; and whole lines of their kings were its zealous partisans. The ruin of the empire, and especially that of Gaul, came later. It was inflicted by the more barbarous Franks, whose violence might have been kept in check, if the prejudices of the Romans had not really alienated the tribes which they were unable to crush. M. Fauriel has examined too slightly his important subject in this point of view, which nevertheless seems to be its key-stone, and it could not have failed to produce instructive reflections in his hands. It is one of his defects to accept conquest as inevitable, and perhaps useful, in the progress of mankind.

Christianity was early introduced among the older complex elements of society in Gaul. But pure religious doctrines, and good usages, formed a portion only of the influences which prevailed after its establishment. Its corruptions even added to the previously existing causes of discord. New principles also were prevalent among the northern barbarians; and the ambition showed by their chiefs, in common with all conquerors, led to the frightful struggles between them and the people of Southern Gaul; which crisis was aggravated by the wars of both populations of Gaul with the invading Arabs. Towards the close of these sanguinary events, there grew up in the south new manners and a new literature; of which, especially M.

Fauriel, is the critic and historian; and which at length produced substantially the system of the times in which we live.

It is the able display of those struggles of races, and revolutions of manners, with their causes and consequences, until the fourteenth century, which constitute M. Fauriel's great merit. He has faults, but they are not numerous. His very intellectual riches lead to one of them—a defect in style. His mind is so full of his subject—so intensely alive to its multitudinous details, that he never seems to have completed his work. After all has been said by him that would give others the idea of completeness, M. Fauriel perceives that some important points are not thoroughly settled; and then, yielding to superior claims upon his attention, he merely notices the omitted points as he proceeds, and promises to take them up at a more suitable opportunity. The frequent occurrence of this practice raises a feeling of the imperfection of his labours, which would not belong to them but for his own habit of composition; and which, if removed by his vast resources being fully worked out as his topics arose, would have elevated him to the very highest rank as a writer.

The language of the inhabitants of the South of France is traced by M. Fauriel very distinctly to eight originals: the Gaulish or Belgian, the Celtic and its branches, the Aquitanian or Basque, the Greek, the Latin, the several branches of the German, the Arabic, and the Hebrew. He possessed a deep knowledge of all these languages, and of several others, as the Sanscrit, English, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and of course French. In fact, except Anglo-Saxon, to the value of which he seems to have been scarcely alive, he was unquestionably the most universal linguist of his time. But to him languages were merely instruments of inquiry into the various forms of civilization. His account of the disappearance of some of the above-mentioned languages as popular tongues; and that of the transit of the whole to the French and Provençal, with the formation of the last from all its elements, are framed with the greatest skill and logic.

‘When different languages are brought into contact casually, they naturally combine, change their several characters, and extinguish each other. Representing, as they do, the several moral and political powers of the people who speak them, they necessarily partake of the degrees of those powers, and share the fate of those people respectively. All the foregoing languages were spoken in various parts of Gaul from the end of the fifth to the middle of the eighth century; but they had not all equal prospects of duration. Before the end of the tenth century they had almost all disappeared from the face of that country. One of the three oldest of them, the



Gallic, had disappeared the first, if the curious anecdote in the life of St. Martin by Sulpicius Severus be correctly referred to the end of the fourth century. A Gaul is narrating the Saint's life and miracles to two men of Aquitaine; and shows some hesitation at expressing himself in Latin, of which he understands little. Tell your story,' says one of his impatient hearers, 'in any language that pleases you; speak Celtic, or Gallic, if you prefer it, only speak of St. Martin,' and from that time no trace is anywhere to be met with of the Gallic tongue.

'So, after the sixth century, the Greek is quite lost as a spoken language, and before the end of the eighth century the Arabic was expelled beyond the Pyrenees with the repulsed Mussulman.

'In like manner, at the beginning of the ninth century, Latin was confined to the offices of the church, to the law, and to the public records; as about the same time the Visigoths and Burgundians had abandoned their German dialects.

'In the tenth century, therefore, four several languages only were spoken in all Gaul; the Frankish to the left of the Rhine; the Celtic or Breton in Bretagne; the Aquitaine, or Basque in the West Pyrenees, and in all other parts the *Romane* mainly derived from the Latin, of which the *Romane* of the North was French; and that of the South, Provençal.

'The Latin, however, forms by no means the great bulk of the Provençal. I have collected from writings in it three thousand words entirely foreign to the Latin; and they are not half which probably belong to the same class. The greater number of these three thousand words, do not belong to any other language now known. The rest may be clearly recognized in languages still existing.

'The Arabic came latest into use in Southern Gaul; and its contributions to the Provençal language can easily be traced.

'The Greek survives extensively in the Provençal; more especially to the left of the Rhone. *Bread* is there to this day often called *harto*, from *aptos*; and the Troubadours often call the sea, *pelek*, *pelech*, *palagre*, evidently from *πelaγος*; they say *dipnar*, *δειπνας*, for eating, or the principal meal, whence the French word *diner*, to dine; they said *pilo*, for a dart; *mela*, or *mella*, for an apple; *stilo*, for a pillar; *grafi*, for a pen, or graver; *ydria*, for a water jug.

'A remark may be made upon the peculiar character of the Greek of Marseilles. It was a dialect of the Ionic spoken at Phoea, and the Isle of Samos, now lost; and certainly had words to be met with in no other dialect. Consequently some of them may exist in the Provençal without being recognisable. Some very curious speculations might be made on that point; but they would lead me too far from my main purpose. I will only remark on it, that if history had not recorded the existence of the Greek race in the South of Gaul, their presence there might have been inferred from the Greek character of the Provençal language.

'That language contains still more ancient materials in its words

spoken to this day by the Welsh and Bas-Bretons, who unquestionably were among the primitive people of Gaul, and whom I call Celts. A complete analysis of the Provençal language in this respect would require more space than I can here afford. I will only, therefore, affirm such Celtic words to be numerous, and I select a few as specimens; such as *ruska*, the bark of a tree; *comba*, a valley; *maboul*, infantine; *cueno*, gracious, kind; *prim*, thin; *truan*, vagrant; *fell*, malignant.\*

'So traces of the Basque, or old Iberian, in form and sound, are clearly distinguishable in the Provençal. They could not have been borrowed from the mountains where the Basque is now spoken; as there the people are not sufficiently refined to have a rich language to impart to their neighbours. They must have been adopted in the very country once inhabited by a race who spoke Iberian.

'The third primitive language of Gaul, the Gallic, is still more distinctly traceable in the Provençal. That the Gael of Scotland, and the Gaihil of Ireland are identical with the old Gauls, and that they all spoke an analogous language, are facts supported by the existence of the same proper names in the several countries in question, and the light wanting in history on the subject, is supplied by the Provençal dictionary. It contains many words found nowhere else except in the Irish, and the Gaelic of the highlands of Scotland. The adjective *certain*, *certana*, is such a word. It occurs in passages in which it cannot be translated *certain*: but it is expressive enough, if held to be the same as the Gaelic word *keart*, which means *justice, uprightness, loyalty*. A considerable list might be given of similar words; and it is very remarkable that the only primitive tongue of Gaul which has disappeared, should be precisely that language of which the Provençal has preserved the most numerous, the most distinguishable, and most characteristic remnants.

The literature formed with this new language, grew up under circumstances, of which the beginning may be marked very distinctly. About the end of the eighth century, when the Latin, used by the church, was no longer understood by the people, Charlemagne, in his great ecclesiastical and civil reforms, included popular instruction in the popular dialects. This promoted the study of those popular dialects, already favoured by the habits of the southern people, who had not shared in the revival of classical studies by Charlemagne.

The only original literature of the ruder nations of the west

\* M. Fauriel gives twelve words as Celtic, of which, for brevity, seven only are here selected; but their striking identity with the *British* words now in use among us in the south of England, will not escape the reader. This identity illustrates a very interesting inquiry not only as to the connection of the ancient Britons with the primitive people of the south of France, but also as to the obscure point of the supposed extinction of the British language by the Saxons;—in Sussex, for instance.

of Europe was song and verse, in which their traditions were preserved. The letters of Greece and Rome never totally supplanted them; and when about this period classical learning ceased to be cultivated as the basis of the popular speech, the native languages grew up in their own vigour, but more or less mingled with Latin and Greek. The subjects treated of in these new tongues were also derived from different sources, as well the words in which they were treated. They are often identical with subjects preserved in the classics; and often of as purely an unclassical origin, as the subjects of the songs of the native Africans, Americans, or South Sea islanders, which they resemble.

In the south of France, the use of Latin in common speech was certainly extinguished towards the end of the ninth century, when some barbarous Latin romances were written. The Latin was followed by the formation of the *Romance*; and fragments remain of the earliest compositions in romance of the tenth century. The chief subjects of these works are the wars of the population of the *south* of Gaul against the German invaders from the north, and against the Saracens of Spain. Towards the end of the eleventh century, the Provençal language shared the improvements then becoming general in society in the South of France, and M. Fauriel has produced numerous examples of narrative, and other poems in the Provençal language before the twelfth century; particularly of a class of little tales, called *Fabliaux*, usually attributed to the French poets, to the entire exclusion of the Provençals. Vol. ii. 387. He afterwards gives numerous romances upon the subject of Charlemagne in the Provençal language; and proceeds to prove that they preceded the existing *French* romances on the same subject.

1st. He argues that the Provençals possessed poems on analogous subjects before the French had any literature at all.

2nd. The French are admitted to have borrowed their lyrical poetry from the Provençals.

3rd. The Charlemagne romances can be carried back to the year 1170, which is earlier than any similar French compositions.

4th. Chretien de Troyes is the oldest French poet that can be carried to anything like this period; and there is no ground whatever for placing him in 1170; it is besides certain, that he has borrowed much from the Provençals.\*

Hence it is to be *fairly conjectured*, that the Charlemagne series of romances were written in the Provençal before they were written in French.

\* 'It is difficult to ascertain whence Chretien de Troyes procured his subjects.'—Sir Walter Scott's '*Sir Tristram*,' p. 32.



But more positive proof remains to be stated. There is a famous romance upon Guillaume Courtnez, both in French and Provençal, of which the subject, and materials, and manners, are Provençal, and some of its materials can be traced even to the tenth century; which was long before French literature existed.

But besides this, the Charlemagne series are more complete in the Provençal, than in the French romances, and some Provençal poems exist on the subject of Charlemagne, without any analogous French poems. This fact of itself is conclusive in favour of the Provençal origin of this series; for it is a general rule that the origin of all pictures is the country in which they are most abundant and most varied. In this case, the very country of the South is covered with proof of the fact in question by the vast number of places to which Charlemagne and his knights have given their names, and this at a period long before the dates of the poems in question.

By an analogous train of reasoning, M. Fauriel shews, that the romances of the series of the Round Table, or those upon apparently British subjects, are really of Provençal origin; he admits—

‘The subject to be obscure for want of materials, and difficult in consequence of the reiteration of rash assertion without proofs. The advocates of an *Armorican* origin for these romances have never produced any genuine documents to support the claim. It is otherwise as to the supposed British or Welsh origin of them. In that case two sources deserve examination; namely, 1, the Triads in the Welsh language; and 2, the Chronicles of British history in Welsh and Latin. Some of the Triads refer to very ancient events, such, for example, as the deluge, in a manner different from the text of the Bible. They have passages strongly resembling the Hindoo traditions. They were never written in Latin, a singular circumstance, which seems to attest a genuine British original for these documents; but, in their present form, an earlier date cannot be claimed for them than the thirteenth century, although they contain traditions of far higher antiquity, and such as must be the remains of traditions preserved among the people from the earliest times. The passages cited commonly from the Triads, to prove that the Round Table romances came from a British source, are not of this ancient character. These passages have been introduced into the collections from the romances themselves, with which the British became familiar at a late period. Such passages are quite foreign to the Welsh language and to the Welsh history. An example of such foreign words is that of *Graal*, the title of one great series of the Round Table romances. It is a Provençal word, not British. So when the Triads mention the character of Lancelot du Lac, the very words would be unintelligible to a Briton without a knowledge of

French. These portions of the Triads resemble the romances of the Round Table; but they are of a comparatively modern date, and additions to the ancient British documents. The portions of the Triads which are genuine and ancient bear no resemblance whatever to the romances. The Arthur of the Triads is altogether a different person from the Arthur of those romances.'—vol, ii. p. 312—322.

On these grounds, a Welsh or British original for the series of romances into which the machinery of Arthur and the knights of the Round Table is introduced, so far as the claim depends upon the evidence of the Triads, is rejected by M. Fauriel. He treats the evidence of the Chronicles as less important. The principal one is that of Geoffry of Monmouth, which must have been dated between 1138 and 1150, when it is certain many of the romances in question were already written.

The substance, too, of the romances of the Round Table presents no historical features of the British, or any other nation. They are altogether fictions, presenting pictures of chivalry, in the state which that institution had reached after it had become imbued with the new germ of civilization of the twelfth century, a gay spirit of adventurous gallantry, as distinguished from a gloomy spirit of religious fervour and mysticism, which the church still endeavoured to spread through the agency of its own knighthood—the Hospitallers and Templars.

The romances describing the chivalry of amorous adventure, of which the famous Sir Tristram is the great model, differ entirely from those which are devoted to the chivalry of religion. The latter are called the series of the *Graal*. Their principal example is the Perceval of Christian of Troyes. Their object is to describe the guardianship of the cup, (in the Provençal language called *Grazal*, *Graal*,) in which our Lord celebrated the Last Supper with his disciples.

This cup, endowed with miraculous powers, was borne off by angels to be kept in heaven until a line of heroes should appear on earth, worthy to be entrusted with its keeping. Titurel, the hero of the romances, was chosen for that office. He built a temple to receive the cup; and became the chief of a body of knights, under the sanction of the church, to guard it, and protect its worship. Perpetual plenty surrounded this abode of the symbol of holiness, and perpetual youth, with other gifts, rewarded its *chivalrous* defenders. The descendants of Titurel became degenerate, and the holy cup was carried to the east. Its return to the west was to be the new reward of an *ecclesiastical reform*, which, with the obvious connection of the knights

destined to protect the cup, with the order of Templars and Hospitallers, formed at this period, seems to render this fiction of the *Graal* a branch of the great efforts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries which had that object in view.

Having shown that neither of these two classes of the Round Table romances, neither those of a gay, nor those of a grave chivalrous character, can be traced to a British original, M. Fauriel proceeds by an ingenious train of reasoning, which hardly admits of abridgment or extract, to prove them to be purely Provençal.

In the dispute, he says, between the French, Breton, Scottish, Welsh, and German claimants for the honour of having written the original poem of Sir Tristram, and those of the same class, it has been overlooked that the *Provençal literature* really produced those romances. At least, twenty-five well-known Troubadours have quoted the story of Sir Tristram as familiar to them. Of these Provençal writers, Raimbaud d'Orange the oldest, must have written, in 1150, the passages referring to Sir Tristram. That romance was therefore known in that year in the Provençal language. In the same way, other Round Table romances may be proved to have existed at that period in the same language. From their familiarity with the story of King Arthur, and his expected return to reign in Britain, the Troubadours used to call the hope which never despairs, notwithstanding every disappointment, *the hope of a Briton*. It was the familiarity of the Troubadour, or Provençal writers, with the poetical history of the *Graal*, and with the superstitious expectation, attributed in it to the Briton, that gave rise to the proverb. These romances are full of Pyrenean scenery, and words belonging to the South of France, besides the word *Graal*; of the true Provençal meaning of which the French poets are known to have been ignorant.

But a positive testimony of a very remarkable character confirms these arguments in a way not to be resisted.

In the thirteenth century, the German Minnesinger, Wolfram, wrote two romances on the *Graal*; and he expressly rebukes Christian of Troyes for not having scrupulously adhered to the *older Provençal* romance on the same subject rather than to the *French* poet, whom he had copied.

In support of his views, M. Fauriel offers a conjecture deserving of careful appreciation, upon the motives which led the Provençal poets to adopt the subject of Arthur and the Round Table for their romances.

The poets of the eleventh, and of the first years of the twelfth century, had made very great improvements in the literature of their predecessors. Their language was exceedingly melodious,



and their sentiments a pure expression of chivalrous attainments. It was an entirely new system of poetry, and addressed to the higher circles in courts and castles, where what had belonged to a coarser age was now abandoned. The people adhered to old, rude verses, the image of semi-barbarous feelings, and written in a style slightly influenced by lingering classical traditions. But that older class of compositions had also been influenced by recent refinements, so that a perceptible change had taken place in a large portion of it, consisting of historical songs, heroic fictions, and romantic narratives of the wars against the Arabs. Hence, the more frequent beauties of their language, and their more successful development of the passions. These works, however, although they still pleased the people, had lost their charm for the more elevated classes. Therefore the Troubadours, in order to gratify the latter, who were their auditors and patrons, were compelled to seek for fresh topics. The Oliver and Roland of the ancient romance were too gross for the men who were seriously disposed towards the new ideas; and the character of those grim heroes offered nothing in unison with what were henceforth to be the principles of chivalry, namely, homage to the fair, and a love of romantic adventure.

In this state of things, those Troubadours, who the more zealously aimed at the triumph of chivalry, sought for some distinguished personages to whom they might safely attribute its virtues without violating established associations. Such heroes they found in the court and camp of the last prince of the Britons. This supposes some knowledge of Arthur to have existed among the Troubadours from tradition, or it supposes the existence of songs before 1150, now lost, but not any acquaintance with the work of Geoffry of Monmouth, which had not then appeared. This knowledge was, however, limited to a few names stripped of all historical life, *seeing that the ideas and actions presented in the Round Table series along with such British names, are purely Provençal, and chivalrous, as chivalry was understood at the beginning of the twelfth century.*

This constituted the twofold system of poetry, established at that time in Provence, and throughout the South of France. It spread thence all over Europe; and certainly not less towards the north of France than elsewhere. It flourished two hundred years; and only fell into disuse in consequence of a series of persecutions to which the refined people of the South of France, and chiefly the Albigenses were exposed by the cruel combination of temporal and ecclesiastical tyranny. These persecutions ended in the utter extinction of the Provençal

literature. Its poets were ruined in their struggle against the double barbarism of church and state; and their writings were burned as so many violations of the pure Roman faith.

The volumes before us close with M. Fauriel's views on the subject of this last persecution. They are taken from the preface to a volume published ten years; and scarcely known to English readers. It is a versified history of a part of the war against the Albigenses. It deserves a separate examination.

M. Fauriel's researches, and his most able exposition of his conclusions, will be fatal to a crowd of speculations upon the sources of modern romance and poetry. But in raising a splendid system of literary and social history upon the deepest and widest foundations, his merit does not consist so much in the originality of his opinion, that the poetry of the Troubadours sprang out of old elements, and was composed extensively of earlier materials, as in the great ability with which he has traced out numerous proofs of the correctness of this opinion. Before his day, and also in his time, *but without any communication with him*, distinguished writers of our own had settled the *filiation* of modern with classical letters, and especially romance. Warton did so in the last century; and earlier authorities might be cited to the same purpose. More recently, Sir Walter Scott, a very Troubadour himself, had suggested correct views on the subject; and the late learned Mr. Price had pursued them to sounder conclusions than Sir Walter's, with greater force of argument and equal eloquence of language. The judgment of Mr. Price on the point is illustrated by a brilliant citation from Campbell, who also took the right side of a question, which, when M. Fauriel's works are well known, will scarcely be ever again disputed.

'The resemblances to be found in modern romance and classical fictions are obviously too intimate,' says Mr. Price, 'to have been the result of accident, or a common development of circumstances possessing some general affinity. The majority, on investigation, will be found to have been derived, however indirectly, from sources of classical antiquity; and their existence in this dismembered state forcibly illustrates a remark of Mr. Campbell's, which is equally distinguished for its truth and its beauty,—*'that fiction travels on still lighter wings (than science), and scatters the seeds of her wild flowers imperceptibly over the world, till they surprise us by springing up with similarity, in regions the most remotely divided.'* (Essay on English Poetry, p. 30.) But while these resemblances tend to establish the fact, that popular fiction is in its nature *traditional*, they necessarily direct our attention to another important question,—the degree of

antiquity to be ascribed to the great national fables relative to Arthur, Theoderic, and Charlemagne.\*

The numerous admirers of the genius of the late Mr. Price, will be gratified at finding in such a work as M. Fauriel's, a confirmation of his opinions, and a rational explanation of the difficulties to which he alludes.

It would be a most curious speculation to subject the numerous theories afloat upon the rise of modern poetry, to the test of M. Fauriel's arguments. Mr. Laing's learned vindication of the claims of the Scandinavians to a parentage of the oldest date, and to its fruits in at least the whole of the literature of Britain; and the German pretensions to an originality beyond recorded history for their remarkable early poetry, would be found alike at fault. Perhaps the most interesting part of these volumes, is the chapter in which the source of the German Minnesingers' poems seems to be traced to demonstration, to the Provençals, in the delightful story of Walther of Aquitaine, a very few words of which will lead the reader to wish to be better acquainted with it.

Walther of Aquitaine, the *genius of civilization*, has escaped from the court of Attila, where he was a hostage. He is attacked in his flight by a barbarous chief, whose followers he defeats with great slaughter, in a succession of single combats. He has fled from Attila, with another hostage, Hildegunde, the daughter of his mother's brother; and he is affianced to her. After inflicting a severe check upon his assailants, he resolves at nightfall, to await a second attack on the mountains where he had halted, 'that it might not be said he had fled like a thief in the dark!' He first makes the access to his post secure. Then, kneeling on the bodies of the men he had killed, embraces them one after another; and turning to the east with his sword drawn, he pronounces this brief prayer.

'I offer my grateful thanks to thee, O God, the Creator of all things, and without whose permission nothing comes to pass,—I thank thee for preserving my life from the sword of my enemies, and my honour from their reproach. And I humbly pray, O Lord, who wouldest not that the wicked should perish, but that his sin should pass away, I humbly pray that I may see these dead men again in heaven.'—Hist. de la Poesie Provençale, vol. i., p. 373.

The scene of this unexpected incident is a high point of the Vosges, in which the fugitives had found a safe halting place.

The next day's combat ended well; and Walther escaped

\* Preface by Mr. Price to the edition of 1824 of 'Warton's English Poetry,' vol. i., p. 72.



with his bride into Aquitaine, to carry on the long struggle of the old civilization of the south and west against the encroachments and invasions of the barbarous tribes from the north and east.

It has been observed, as a defect in M. Fauriel's system of civilization, that he recognises *conquest* as one of its legitimate elements. This is the more surprising, inasmuch as the most powerful part of his whole work is his indignant denouncement of the conquering Franks, whose inroads upon his Provençals, and men of the south, unquestionably caused enormous misery. He also saw with an eagle-eye the great mischief afterwards inflicted on the south by the wars of religious conquest against the Albigenses in the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, he takes no distinct stand against *force* as a means of extending dominion, as contradistinguished from the more civilizing progress of peace, and commerce, and all enlightened arts. He mentions, almost in a spirit of approval, certainly, with no terms of reproof, the perpetual wars of the early Massilians with their barbarous neighbours ; which were extensively wars of conquest, not defence. He treats in the same way the conquests made by the Romans with their aid, the result of which was an enormous increase of the territories of the Massilians from the spoil of the conquered tribes. He looks upon the subsequent conquest and *attendant* civilization of all Gaul by the Romans as indispensable and proper coincidences. He eulogises Charlemagne the conqueror, as much as Charlemagne the civilizer. He has not a word of indignation for the enormities of conquering crusaders in the East, however naturally he may narrate with satisfaction the decline of the power of the invading Musselmens and Arabian conquerors of Spain and of the west. In one word, his warm sympathies are given to the warlike strains of the Troubadours, as much as to their lays of peace and refinement.

This is a great fault in such a man, and with such a theme. He has done so much, and his influence in France has been so great, that his stopping short of the legitimate consequences of his own doctrines, is deeply to be regretted. The testimonies in honour of Fauriel would fill a volume. A portion of them is contained in the writings of Benjamin Constant, of Destutt de Tracy, of Cabanis, of Madame de Staël, of Cousin, of Villemain, of Guizot, of Thierry, and a host of other French men of letters. Of foreigners, Monte, Manzoni, and W. Schlegel, may be mentioned as a mere specimen of those who duly appreciated his great talents. In England he seems to have attracted notice on one occasion only ; namely, in the struggle for the independence of Greece. His *Songs of Greece* presented a rare

union of learning and taste. They received an eloquent eulogy in the 'Westminster Review,' and a zealous translator in Mr. R. B. Sheridan. M. Fauriel's watchful regard of most of our literary labours, during his long life, deserved a more diligent study on our part of his works. If he had followed our Anglo-Saxon history with somewhat greater care, he would unquestionably have become more intimate with our successes in a field, the importance of which could not have escaped his penetration. It is, perhaps, the only branch of literature in which he seems to be deficient.

M. Fauriel's works should be collected. During fifty years he was deeply versed in all that was enlightened throughout Europe; and his ablest contemporaries attribute to him the rise of the modern school of history in France. His miscellaneous criticisms are a most valuable series of essays on historical and philosophical subjects; and his correspondence may be expected to furnish treasures equally valuable. Happily the integrity of the man corresponded with his talents. With the higher prospect of fortune when Bonaparte was consul, he preferred an obscure retreat to an advancement that must degrade his principles; and, for thirty years, he steadily acted up to those principles in defiance of the double seduction of the Empire and of the Restoration.

*'Victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni.'*

After the Revolution of 1830, he received a poor but characteristic reward, by being appointed the first Professor of Foreign Literature in Paris, a chair said to have been founded for him. The book, too briefly noticed in this article, contains many of the lectures read in that chair.

M. Fauriel died, at an advanced age, in 1844, universally respected, leaving his vast collection of manuscripts, more or less complete, to the care of an English lady, and to the literary supervision of Dr. Jules Mohl, the able editor of these volumes.

Art. II. — *The Select Works and Memoirs of the late Rev. Joseph Fletcher, D.D.* By the Rev. Joseph Fletcher, Jun., of Hanley. 3 Vols. 8vo. London : John Snow. 1846.

THE multiplication of 'memoirs' threatens to become a serious evil. There is no rule of justice or wisdom governing, to any considerable extent, this department of literature. Self-conceit, and private partiality, are continually intruding upon the public histories without events, and letters without meaning. Men of truth and honour are shocked and disgusted at the wholesale exaggeration which marks the records of those they knew, perhaps too well, while living; and the simple-minded and unsuspecting are startled and amazed that they should never have detected the astonishing excellencies of members of their own circle, and dwellers in their own neighbourhood. The canon that only good should be spoken of the dead, is caricatured and abused. Ordinary talent becomes extraordinary genius, common consistency is transformed into singular holiness, and an average amount of patient suffering obtains the honours due only to heroic courage and martyr-like fortitude. Judging from the manner in which 'lives' are generally written, it might be supposed that death secured the past as well as future perfection of Christians; or, that their characters, like their wills, were only known after their departure. Many of them, if permitted to revisit earth, would be utterly unable to detect their own likenesses, which, as bad portraits, need a name to be recognised by any one.

A powerful reason of the unnecessary and injurious multiplicity of biographical works is doubtless a mistake affecting the use and application of a plain and important truth. The distinction is not sufficiently observed between commonness of character and commonness of condition. All admit that the most useful biographies are those of men who have filled the most common spheres, and passed through the most common experiences. A pattern is valuable, other things being equal, in proportion to the number of points at which it meets and resembles the cases of those who are intended to be taught and stimulated. As Sprat observes, in his 'Life of Cowley,' 'It is from the practice of men equal to ourselves that we are more naturally taught how to command our passions, to direct our knowledge, and to govern our actions.' But this being the end of examples, if it be desirable that they should have a considerable similarity of outward condition and mode of life to those of the men before whom they are presented, it is indispensable that they possess a high order of moral excellence. It is not enough, to fit for this office, that a man have lived, had the



wants and wishes of humanity, and filled particular positions and offices; the question is unavoidable, 'What did he, and was he?' We are far from forgetting that the most familiar lot may be sanctified and adorned by the noblest principles of morality and religion, but that is no reason for selecting the lot without those principles for purposes of instruction. And here is the divorce we mourn—the lives commonly published are of men in the right walks and ways, but not of the right men; they have been taken from the great classes, but they have not been marked by the peculiar excellence necessary to the place and office consigned them. It is not inferior, it is not average, Christians that are suitable for patterns. Much better is it to be dispirited by the presence of an almost unattainable superiority, than to be conversant with models that may be easily copied and surpassed. It is, therefore, with deep regret that we notice the general character of biographical works. Their objects are indeed sufficiently like the masses of their fellows in style of life and proceedings, but they are often deplorably destitute of all fitness and power to affect, by deep and holy sympathy, the hearts of others, and to excite and regulate a spirit of pure and noble emulation. It may be questioned whether this be necessary to the end proposed. The tendency of the day is not only to print everything, but to do everything by printing. Our forefathers had costly monuments and paintings to perpetuate and glorify their memories; their descendants write a book, or have one written. A memoir costs no more than a tomb, and it is on many accounts a preferable mode of publication.

It is with sincere pleasure that we can except the work before us, in the application of the remarks we have felt it needful to make. Dr. Fletcher's life, though not by any means eventful, was worthy of a record, as spent in the discharge of duties which devolve upon a great and important class of men, and a class needing above many all the influences of strength and excitement in their laborious work; and not less, as marked by the qualities, moral and religious, which are indispensable in a model of ministerial character. He was a man of sincere and devoted piety, of unblemished moral excellence, and of a spirit which all who knew him loved. His religious principles were sound and wisely held, removed from all extremes, and maintained with the firmness of true charity. He was free from crotchets, had no infallible test for every subject, no pet doctrine or idea standing for entire catholic truth. He was subjected to the action of various, and some severe, works of proof; passed through much of labour, suffering, and privilege; and retained his integrity, and accomplished his service in all. 'He was, in

one word,' as Mr. James observes, 'a singularly *complete* man.' There was nothing in his intellect, his moral character, or his ministry, to strike by its vast superiority, or its vast inferiority, to all his other qualities and endowments. We certainly should not place him in the very first rank of preachers, yet he stood high, and deservedly so, as a public teacher of Christianity. He possessed many advantages, in appearance, voice, and manner; but he was chiefly indebted for his popularity and impressiveness to a clear and direct understanding, a full and cordial proclamation of evangelical truth, an earnest purpose and desire to do good, arguments meaning something and tending somewhere, and phraseology which, if sometimes redundant, was generally elegant and forcible. The readers of his life will not be afflicted by a nervous anxiety to do some 'great thing;' but, if we mistake not, they will experience the powerful and comprehensive attraction of one who excelled, in all the most important points, as a man, a Christian, and a minister. His son has discharged his delicate task with considerable judgment and discretion. If he express a higher estimate than our own of some characteristics of his father, it is not wonderful, even though he should be mistaken. The main defect of his work is in its length. Had a portion of the first volume been occupied with reprints of some of Dr. Fletcher's publications, and had the third been entirely or nearly so, we think that readers in general would have been better pleased, and more edified.

Dr. Fletcher was born December 3rd, 1784, in the ancient city of Chester, of which place his father was a citizen and goldsmith.

'From the city records it appears, that the lineal ancestors of Mr. Robert Fletcher had for some centuries occupied a position of official importance in the County Palatine. Six of their name were sheriffs, and one was mayor. The periods reach from 1498 to 1678. The Sheriff Fletcher of 1678 went over to Cork, in Ireland, and settled there. He perpetuated his memory in Chester, however, by a gift of four almshouses to 'four poor widows of sixty, in the parish of Trinity.' They still exist, and an inscription to the above effect, and bearing date 'A. D. 1671,' is to be seen under a carving of the family coat of arms.'

'The name of Dr. Fletcher's mother, before her marriage, was Elizabeth Wolfe, the same name with that of General Wolfe, the hero of Quebec, to whom she was related, her father and the General being 'own cousins,' or brother's children. It is now many years since she entered into rest; but the fragrance of her memory remains. He always spoke of her in terms of the most profound endearment, and was wont to indulge in the most tender reminiscences respecting her. In one of his latest letters, in which reference is made to her, he writes, 'Bless her memory! Her sweet, gentle,

lovely form is now before me, and I never think of her without deep feeling. She perhaps loved me too much; but I have not the recollection of once grieving her,—and that is a soothing remembrance.’—pp. 8, 9.

Young Fletcher ‘acquired the first rudiments of learning, and formed the habit of a clear and correct enunciation,’ at a preparatory school conducted by a Mrs. Grandmaison, the daughter of a French refugee. While here, he experienced a ‘remarkable preservation,’ having fallen through a trap-door which had been carelessly left open. The consequence of this accident he long retained, in a predisposition to deafness, from which he suffered in after life. Leaving Mrs. Grandmaison, he entered the grammar school at Chester, where he made considerable progress in his studies. It is told of him, at this period, that his thirst for knowledge led him to make frequent visits to a bookseller’s shop in the neighbourhood, ‘not so much in the character of a purchaser, as of a casual reader.’ His visits were, however, so often repeated, that the bookseller, though he felt an interest in him, yet thought ‘the advantage too much on one side,’ and an agreement was made between the parties, ‘that the youthful student should fold up a given number of sheets of paper for every fresh work he might read. On these original and equitable terms, many volumes were perused during the hours usually devoted by school-boys to play.’ The manner in which he was brought to the knowledge of the truth may suggest important considerations.

‘From his very childhood he was trained up ‘in the nurture and admonition of the Lord,’ and the instruction, enforced by the uniformly consistent example of his parents, laid the foundation of religious truth and piety in his mind; but at this early period the first religious impressions of a powerful nature were produced. His pastor, the Rev. William Armitage, died in March, 1794, when he was in his tenth year, and the Rev. William Thorpe, afterwards of Bristol, visited Chester as a candidate for the vacant office. He remained there for more than a year, and although he did not finally accept the pastoral charge, his ministrations were highly beneficial. Mr. Thorpe was a great preacher, and his young hearer was at times deeply moved whilst listening to him, and inspired, for the first time, with an admiration for pulpit eloquence. At a subsequent period, an intimate friendship subsisted between them, terminated only by death. Other and concurrent sources of religious impression, however, should be mentioned, which he thus refers to some years afterwards. ‘At a very early age, serious impressions were made upon my mind, which were particularly effected by the perusal of ‘Jeneway’s Token for Children.’ The author’s very pathetic address in the preface of that work, tended much to convince me of the importance and necessity of religion. This address was often read



and prayed over with considerable interest and delight. But levity and folly, the usual characteristics of childhood, succeeded these first impressions. I cannot recollect any particular circumstance till my eleventh or twelfth year, when convictions which had been forgotten, were revived and deepened. It has often been a cause of much distress that I could not particularize the place, the time, the means of my conversion. The Lord's work was gradually effected: I cannot better describe it at its commencement, than by the words of the blind man in the Gospel, who at first only saw 'men as trees walking.' As I was constantly in the way of learning something, having from my earliest years a predilection for reading, and being furnished with the necessary means of instruction, I did, indeed, acquire a theoretical knowledge of some of the distinguishing doctrines of the Gospel. But, I fear, that knowledge was merely speculative. I saw not so much of the evil tendency of sin, nor of the beauty and inestimable worth of the Friend of sinners, as afterwards. Though orthodox in my notions of some things, my dependence was centred in myself. But by a constant attendance on the means of grace, an attendance enforced by the example and advice of my parents, the Lord was graciously pleased to remove the veil of spiritual ignorance from the eyes of my understanding, and afford the more scriptural views of the way of salvation through a Mediator.'—pp. 11—13.

We have quoted this passage from a conviction that the truth of which it is an instance is one which many are still slow to learn. It is by no means a universally admitted fact that genuine conversion to God can take place in this gradual and almost imperceptible manner, and even respectable writers are still to be found suggesting alarm to those who cannot 'particularise the place, the time, the means' of their great change. Such a case as that of Dr. Fletcher may well confirm a doctrine more in accordance with the intimations of Scripture, and the teachings of philosophy.

At the age of fifteen, Mr. Fletcher left school to enter upon business, it being his father's purpose that he should ultimately become his partner and successor. His own mind was, however, directed to a very different destiny, and the extracts given from his private papers prove with what seriousness, modesty, and anxiety he indulged the hope of being one day 'a servant of the Most High God, showing unto men the way of salvation.' While yet a boy he sought recreation and employment in literary occupation. 'Between the ages of twelve and sixteen,' we are told, 'he took a very creditable part in a somewhat prolonged newspaper controversy.' He also contributed some articles to the religious periodicals of the day, of one of which it is recorded 'that his father, delighted with the lucid views it contained, and little suspecting that he was the author, recom-

mended him, in terms of the warmest approval, to read it.' After two years' solicitude, the way was opened to his entrance into the ministry, and he was admitted as a student into Hoxton academy. Here 'the fact of his being qualified to join the senior classes during his first year did not promise much respecting future advancement.' A plan, however, was at this time proposed and carried out for raising a foundation for the support and education of two students at the University of Glasgow, and Mr. Fletcher and Mr. (now Dr.) Payne, were the first to enjoy its advantages. He accordingly proceeded to Glasgow in October, 1804, where he devoted himself to his various studies in the spirit of Mr. Simeon's advice to Henry Martyn, on his first going to Cambridge. 'My dear sir, the Lord Jesus Christ has called you by his grace, — be senior wrangler,' excelling most, however, in logic, mental and moral philosophy, and political economy; and taking his degree of Master of Arts. On the first Sabbath in May, he permanently entered on his first pastoral charge at Blackburn, in Lancashire, whither he had received and accepted a cordial and unanimous invitation a year before.

'The church, of which he thus accepted the pastorship, had been formed in the year 1778. The members originally constituting it appear to have withdrawn, in a friendly manner, from the two churches of Darwen and Tockholes, the villages in the neighbourhood of the rising town of Blackburn. The Rev. James M'Quhae, the first pastor of the church, removed from Tockholes in order to preside over it, and was exceedingly useful, not merely as a minister, but as a tutor. He died on the 29th of April, 1804, at the age of sixty-three, or about two years previous to this period. The town of Blackburn contained then a population of nearly thirteen thousand. Its central position in reference to many other towns, as well as its rapidly increasing trade in the cotton manufacture, rendered it a station of influence and importance; and Mr. Fletcher did not fail to perceive abundant scope for usefulness.'—p. 68.

At the time of Mr. Fletcher's settlement, the state of religion was not flourishing. According to another hand,—

'When Dr. Fletcher first went to Blackburn, religion was at a very low ebb, although the congregation was numerous and highly respectable. A worldly spirit marked the character of many professors, and the line of demarcation between the church and the world was in some cases scarcely perceptible; but the youthful pastor took a very decided stand, making the New Testament his standard both in public and private; and, by his personal kindness, holy consistency, and christian firmness, produced a great reformation in both church and congregation.

'Neither was religion in a flourishing state in the neighbourhood. But a remarkable revival had taken place at Darwen, near Black-

burn, occasioned by the death of Mrs. B., the beloved wife of the minister of the old chapel there, under the following distressing circumstances:—In company with her husband, she was returning home from a party of friends in the neighbourhood, mounted upon a spirited horse. Being young, and a courageous rider, she ventured to pass across a ferry while the waters were much swollen, and the stream very rapid. Though cautioned against the attempt, she plunged in. She was overwhelmed, and seen no more for several hours, when her lifeless body was discovered at some distance from the spot. This melancholy event produced a great sensation in the whole neighbourhood, which was overruled for good. Her bereaved husband was, in this deep distress, led to review his past course, and completely to change the matter and manner of his ministry. He became an earnest preacher and pastor, holding up Christ to his people, fully and faithfully, as the only Saviour and all-sufficient refuge. Many were awakened to deep concern; prayer meetings were held every evening; and those who never prayed before, became earnest supplicants at a throne of grace. The head of a respectable family, hearers at the chapel, who had been formerly indifferent, if not opposed to spiritual religion, was so moved and changed in heart by the power of Divine grace, that he converted a large billiard-room, then in process of building, into a room for prayer. He and his partner joined the church, became great blessings to the whole neighbourhood, and by their influence and example effected incalculable good in this important station. Under their roof the young pastor at Chapel-street often refreshed himself, in after life, in periods of physical exhaustion, with the cheering influence of Christian intercourse and hallowed friendship.'—pp. 106, 107.

In this sphere of labour Mr. Fletcher abode till 1823, making full proof of his ministry. During this period he not only discharged with credit and success the various onerous duties of a large pastorate, and took an active part in various public institutions, but appeared several times as an author. He contributed considerably to the *Eclectic Review*, in articles marked as strongly as any of the productions of his mind and pen by his peculiar excellences, published some single sermons, and delivered and presented to the public the most important of all his publications, the lectures on the *Roman Catholic Religion*. During the last six years of his residence at Blackburn, he filled the laborious and responsible office of tutor to an academy for students for the ministry, to which he devoted himself with a diligence, wisdom, and grace, which we have heard referred to by those best qualified to bear a testimony, in terms which any one might covet. Besides the readings in the Hebrew Bible and Greek Testament, the various examinations in class, and the superintendence of the establishment, he composed complete courses of lectures on intellectual and moral science, universal



grammar, Christian evidences, and theology. These multiplied and arduous engagements told injuriously upon a constitution not naturally of great strength, and doubtless had an important influence in causing his subsequent severe indisposition and premature decease. Having declined several invitations to other spheres, he at last accepted a second call to the ancient church at Stepney, as the pastor of which he was recognised, Feb. 19, 1823.

'Stepney, anciently called Stebonhyth, Stebonheath, or, Stebonhede, was formerly a small village, distant from the city of London by a considerable interval of uninhabited, though not uncultivated, ground. It is rich in associations, literary and ecclesiastical, and not altogether destitute of such as are connected with king and parliament. 'Rare Ben Jonson' knew the village well, spending large portions of his time in the place. Milton, too, if we may judge from one of his sonnets, was accustomed to visit it in his perambulations. In 1299, King Edward the First held his parliament there, at the residence of Henry Wallis, lord mayor of London; and King John's gateway still stands little more than a stone's throw from Stepney meeting, and now forming part of the Baptist College. The ecclesiastical antiquities of Stepney are almost coeval with the introduction of Christianity into England, and probably some of the first heralds of the cross delivered their message to the early aborigines of the place.

'Independency, too, finds here some of its most ancient records, and the vestiges of its earliest and greatest men. The church, long accustomed to assemble in Stepney meeting-house, dates its origin from 1644, in the days of Archbishop Laud. Henry Burton, the author of 'The Protestant Protested,' and one of the earliest promoters of modern congregationalism, was honoured in being present and aiding in its formation. Grenhill, Mead, Galpine, Mitchell, Hubbard, Brewer, and Ford, constituted the line of its pastors; and amongst those who have occasionally ministered to its spiritual wants, we find the names of Owen and Caryll, Howe and Guyse. Where the church met during the earliest period of its existence is not known; although it is matter of tradition, that after the passing of the Act of Uniformity, in 1662, it was accustomed to hold fellowship in a place near what is called The Walnut Tree. In 1674, the present edifice was built. The original form, after the style of a private mansion, was suggested by the persecuting spirit of the age, which rendered seclusion and secresy at times needful. Both internally and externally, the ancient structure has been considerably altered from the primitive form, in succeeding periods.'—pp. 310—312.

We cannot attempt a chronological reference to the events and experiences of the twenty years spent by Mr. Fletcher in this important post of labour. His pastoral relation to the church at Stepney was attended with manifest tokens of the

divine blessing. He found that church in a state far from prosperous; he left it greatly increased in number, and actively devoted to the good of the dense population around it. But the labours of Dr. Fletcher would be very inadequately estimated by any one who confined his attention to his pastoral proceedings and success. He was gifted with a large measure of public spirit. Nothing was alien from him that concerned his denomination, his country, or the world at large. Primarily devoted to the people of his charge, he presented a fine example of intelligent and active effort for the spread of every cause that involved the enlightenment and evangelization of his race. He regarded his pastoral position as important, not alone on its own account, but as facilitating his connection with the general movements of benevolence and Christian charity. Stepney was the centre, but not the circumference, of his ministry. He had to preach the gospel to others also. Hence, in addition to the requirements of his own charge, he met, as far as his strength permitted, the calls which are inseparable from a prominent post and a popular name. The nature and number of these calls can be but poorly conceived by any one who has not been so situated as to feel them. Of all positions of difficulty, delicacy, and fatiguing duty, that of a minister of a large congregation, with some good measure of public acceptance, is one of the worst. A correspondence almost sufficient to employ a secretary; invitations abroad, which if accepted would prevent his being ever at home, and duties at home which, if performed, would prevent his being ever abroad; demands of the pulpit which would keep him always in his study, and expectations of visits which would forbid his entering it; incessant summonses to committees and public meetings; and interruptions without end from callers, each one of whom naturally supposes his own business the most important that can engage his attention;\* all this, besides the common obligations which come upon all men, personal and social, may well give peculiar emphasis and intensity to the exclamation—‘Who is sufficient for these things?’ Dr. Fletcher had his full share of employment and anxiety from these sources, and in reading his memoirs we have been again

\* We have heard an anecdote from the lips of one of our most popular ministers, strikingly illustrative of the thoughtlessness of many hearers. The preacher in question was visiting one of his people, who rebuked him for the neglect he supposed to have been shown himself. Upon a calm exposition with him on the ground of his unreasonableness, from the size of the congregation, &c., the complainer replied,—‘But my father has died, and you never called to see and comfort me.’ ‘I did not know of your father’s death,’ was the speedy answer. ‘Not know?’ continued the unmoved rebuker; ‘do you think I should not have known had *your father* died?’

impressed with the superlative absurdity of the custom which dooms a man unaided and alone to bear the burden and responsibility of duties such as those which devolved on him. Though firmly believing in an apostolical plurality of pastors over single churches, we are not careful to ask for New Testament sanction or example in such a case. The matter is not one that can be decided by criticism, citation of texts, or appeals to antiquity. An imperative necessity pronounces an irresistible judgment. The question is simply, whether churches of a large size shall have any pastors, not whether they shall have a certain number of them. No man can be a pastor to a thousand or two thousand people at any time, and, at the present time, it would be impossible, if it were not so at all times. Such a church as that at Stepney should have at least three pastors, and not to have them must be death somewhere—death to the minister, or death to the people.

Dr. Fletcher took an active part in the different movements connected with the civil rights and liberties of dissenters. His views on the great questions of non-conformity and church establishments were very decided and firmly fixed, and he was faithful, above many, in defending and promoting them. Writing to his sister, Mrs. Reynolds, in 1829, he thus refers to an article in this journal:—

‘What does brother R. think of the article in the ‘Eclectic’ for December on *Church Reform*? It appears to me a most inconsistent piece of hypothetical reasoning, on principles which are at complete variance with Conder’s ‘Nonconformity.’ Why, in the name of consistency, are we Dissenters at all on such principles? Will the national Church, however reformed, *ever* be such as to answer the ends of a *spiritual* constitution on scriptural grounds? *Can* it be ever so reformed as to enable its members to follow out into *practical* results the *laws of Christ*? Let *these* be applied, and, like the touch of Ithuriel’s spear, the monster of Church patronage rises up and slinks away abashed and confounded! ’Tis rotten at the core, and all the evangelicals will sooner or later find it so. They are already startled at the enquiries set on foot, and are now trying to *lay* the devil they have raised, in the spirit of political innovation.’—p. 391.

The following incident may amuse some of our readers. The last sermon Dr. Fletcher published was on the birth of the Prince of Wales, and he transmitted a copy of it to her Majesty, through the lord chamberlain, Earl De La Warr, with the following note:—

‘Her Most Gracious Majesty’s acceptance of the sermon accompanying this note, is humbly requested by her Majesty’s most loyal and devoted subject,

‘Mile-end Road, Jan. 17, 1842.

J. FLETCHER.’



In the course of the next month Earl De La Warr sent a note to Dr. Fletcher, stating that, after having given to the request the best consideration in his power, he had arrived at the conclusion, that it would not be consistent with his duty 'as a public officer,' to present the application to her Majesty, as it had not, and obviously could not, have 'the sanction of the Established Church.' Dr. Fletcher replied, not questioning the right of Lord De La Warr to exercise his discretion in the case, but expressing his surprise that, having frequently been presented to her Majesty in the capacity of a dissenting minister, and as a member of a body whose privilege of approach to the throne on public occasions was acknowledged ever since the reign of Queen Anne, the mere circumstance of his not being a minister of the Established Church should *now* be the reason for refusing to comply with his request. The lord chamberlain returned the following answer:—

'17, Upper Grosvenor-street, March 12, 1842.

'SIR,—In reply to your note of the 9th inst., I have the honour to state, that I consider the fact of your discourse having been delivered in a dissenting meeting is of itself sufficient to justify me in declining to present a copy of it to the Queen.

With many apologies for having detained the copies so long,

'I have the honour to be, Sir,

'Your obedient servant,

'DE LA WARR.'

We should have liked to give a longer account than our space will permit of Dr. Fletcher's publications. We agree with his son that he 'never did himself justice. Always fully occupied, averse to the mechanical process of writing, it was something to accomplish what he did. But it may truly be said, that he did every thing in haste.' Yet, notwithstanding this, we are persuaded that as an author he had no reason to be ashamed. Our own judgment is that he appears in print to greater advantage than he did as a preacher, for though he possessed some peculiar endowments which could not affect his writings, yet there were others and of more importance which they alone could fully display. It is the gift of some men to do at once all that they can do; their first view is their clearest and longest; and under the influence of special excitements, their passions giving light and stimulus to their intellect, they command a vigour of thought and affluence of language, which they might seek in vain in the cool moments of silent meditation. Other men there are who grope rather than see, and who are unfitted for both perception and utterance, by the demands of a pressing necessity. Without controverting the assertion of his son, that Dr. Fletcher, 'on some sudden emergency,

surprised his audience with extemporaneous bursts of eloquence never surpassed under similar circumstances,' we cannot but believe that the character of his mind was not in a general way fairly developed, except by slow and continuous operations. His intellect, as Mr. James states, 'if not in the fullest sense of the term profound, was vigorous, clear, and prompt; capable of rigid analytical processes of investigation, possessed of much power of keen discrimination, and though by no means wanting in creative genius, yet rather logical than imaginative.' This is a faithful description. Dr. Fletcher's productions bore no marks of rapid, electrical, thinking. He did not put paragraphs into sentences, and sentences into words. He seldom had the figures which serve not only as illustrations, but expressions, of ideas. He was cool, calm, accurate, and finished, definite in conception, unimpeachable in reasoning, distinct in utterance, but conveying the impression that he was giving forth thoughts that he had sought out, not thoughts that had come upon him—indicating work rather than inspiration. It was felt that however excellent he was, the same diligence and taste continued might have made him still more excellent, and not that he had reached the utmost limit, and to touch his work would be to spoil it. Naturally endowed with superior abilities, he owed not a little to the great educational advantages which he enjoyed, and the habits of precise and comprehensive thought rendered necessary by his circumstances and his duties. Hence, he was peculiarly adapted to the treatment of a subject requiring patient and comprehensive discussion, and always realized proportionate advantages from the continued application of his powers to the theme in hand. If he had not the intuition of some, he had more than the industry, and sound judgment, of many. If he needed elaboration to do his best, with elaboration the best he did. The comparison between his more hasty productions, and those to which he had devoted profound and protracted attention, will fully bear out this remark.

As an author, the most important productions of Dr. Fletcher were controversial, in form or reality, or both; and for the work of a polemic he was specially adapted. He had a strong conviction of the importance of theoretical truth and a healthy love of it, not only for its own sake but for that of its connection with true holiness; he was perspicuous and logical; the fulness and copiousness of his style rendered it a suitable vehicle of arguments, often felt to be dry; while the great courtesy and gentleness of his spirit prevented the possibility of just offence from the mode in which he conducted his discussion. The *Discourse on Personal Election and Divine Sovereignty*, the *Lec-*

*tures on the Principles and Institution of the Roman Catholic Religion*, the sermon on the *Miraculous Gifts of the Primitive Churches*, and *Modern Pretensions to their exercise*, are all examples of lucid thought, clear discrimination, effective reasoning, and eloquent writing. The first has done good service in exhibiting and commending the now most prevalent form of Calvinistic theology; the last exerted a considerable influence in checking the delusive opinions and practices against which it was directed, and had the honour, as we happen to know, of being accounted the most formidable of all the foes of the 'work of the Lord,' by Edward Irving himself; and the second has had an extensive circulation, having reached the fourth edition, and taken a prominent and permanent place among the popular defences of 'the faith once delivered to the saints.' The lectures were delivered at Blackburn between thirty and forty years ago, 'in consequence of the zealous efforts of the Roman Catholic priest,' resident in that town, 'in the vindication of his own principles,' which excited great attention, and seemed imperatively to call for counteracting measures.

'The lectures created much excitement at the time of their delivery, and established the fame of their author when published. They were highly commended in the reviews of the day, and are referred to by some of the first critics, in terms of high approval. Many and excellent as are the works which have since been published on the subject of popery, none, perhaps, so fairly discusses the essential principles of the system as ascertained from the best authorities; \* while the general structure of the argument throughout is marked by the presence of the severest logic. Great care was bestowed upon the composition of the work: if it has any fault, it is one that would be an excellency in oral discourse, namely, a somewhat redundant eloquence. . . . . They were highly successful in his own neighbourhood, and have been useful in enlightening and directing the public mind in its higher ranges of influence. The Abbé Bossut, of Paris, informed a Protestant gentleman that he had read them, and that he considered their argument unanswerable; Mr. Moffat, the well-known missionary, related an instance of their usefulness at the Cape, in the conversion of two Roman Catholics; and the following incident, communicated by the Rev. James Thompson, in the year 1826, was a further proof that the work was not without the Divine blessing.

' 'I took a copy of this work with me when I went out to South America, in 1818. After being there some time, I got intimately

\* 'Dr. Dunn, a Roman Catholic priest, then at Preston, hearing of Mr. Fletcher's intention to publish his Lectures, offered the use of his library, and transmitted a large cargo of books, not easily to be obtained in any other way. Mr. Fletcher's courtesy, as a controversialist, secured these good offices of truly *catholic* kindness, by which he was enabled to quote from the best authorities.'



acquainted with a Dominican friar, and had with him many interesting conversations on general subjects, as well as on religion. I at length lent him your volume; and upon seeing him some time after, he expressed great satisfaction at the candour with which you had treated the subject, and particularly noticed the spirit of piety in which the argument was managed. He told me he had translated several passages of the lectures into Spanish, and every way he seemed much pleased with the work. A few days before I went to Chili, wishing to take your Lectures with me, I called on my friend for the volume I had lent him. Upon my asking him for it, he brought it out, and holding it in both his hands, and pressing it to his breast, he spoke of it so much, and seemed so reluctant to part with it, that I could not summon courage enough to deprive him of it. I therefore presented it to him as a memorial of our friendship, with which he was truly gratified.'—pp. 205, 206.

The Lectures are nine in number: on 'The Authority of the Church,' 'Oral Tradition,' 'The Papal Supremacy,' 'Transubstantiation and the Sacrifice of the Mass,' 'The Sacraments of the Church of Rome,' 'The Invocation of Saints and the Love of Images,' 'Purgatory and the Doctrine of Merit,' 'The Roman Catholic Hierarchy,' and 'The Genius and Tendency of the Papal Religion.' We sincerely hope that they will be still more widely circulated, as they present a comprehensive view of the important subject discussed, in a manner to engage the attention and convince the judgment, of a large class of readers who are not to be reached or satisfied by every day productions. To this work are now added two lectures on Puseyism, which the author intended to publish, and which, though not by any means unworthy of their companions, would doubtless have been improved by his further revision. He could scarcely have retained the two introductory pages of the second lecture, which are an exact copy of those of the ninth on popery.

Art. III.—*Lectures on Ethics*. By Thomas Brown, M.D., late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh: with a Preface, by Thomas Chalmers, D.D. Edinburgh: William Tate. 1846.

DR. THOMAS BROWN has now become an historical character. In the philosophical hemisphere, he occupies confessedly no unimportant place. By some he is regarded as a star of the first magnitude; and not a few even profess to direct themselves athwart the ocean of metaphysical speculation by the light that he has shed upon it. Notwithstanding this, his merits as a philosopher have never yet been very definitely fixed; and we verily believe that there are few, whose works it is so difficult rightly to appreciate, and whose position in the priesthood of letters, it is so hard a matter to assign. In our capacity as judges, in these questions, and in the spirit of that *Eclecticism*, we have so long professed, we shall attempt to add a few materials to aid the verdict, which the mind of humanity is pronouncing.

Dr. Brown was the son of a Scottish clergyman. Having the misfortune to lose his father in his infancy, he was taken by his widowed mother to Edinburgh, where, in the first few years of his mental development, he manifested that precocity of intellect, which often proves the early delight, but the subsequent disappointment, of parental love. In his seventh year he was sent to the vicinity of London for education. Here he remained until his age was sufficiently mature to allow of his matriculation at the University of Edinburgh, from the literary atmosphere of which capital he never withdrew, until compelled to bend his steps southward by the illness, which terminated in his death.

From this sketch let us attempt to trace some of the main influences, under which the mind of our philosopher expanded. The early bias of his childhood, spent as it was in the family circle of a Scottish clergyman, must have cherished the earnest and reflective tendency of a mind naturally inquisitive, and eager for truth. His residence in England was always admitted by his northern associates to have added that polish to his manner, that refinement to his imagination, and that beauty both to his writing and elocution, in which he stood pre-eminent amongst his countrymen. His first predilection for philosophy was fostered in the lecture-room of Dugald Stewart; and the comments he published upon Darwin's '*Zoonomia*,' before he had completed his twentieth year, are a sufficient proof of the success, with which he had applied himself to that

department of his education. All this pointed him out as eminently fitted for the prosecution either of a literary, or a professional life.

From this period his literary history, as far as it appears to the public eye, may be said to have commenced, and its subsequent tendencies to have manifested themselves. Edinburgh, at that juncture, offered to him associates, all in the burning zeal of their early manhood, well calculated to fan the flame of his incipient genius. There were to be found Brougham, and Horner, and Reddie, and Jeffrey; there were many other like aspirants to literary and philosophic reputation, less in fame, though hardly less in ability; there, in a word, was the circle of minds at once profound and brilliant, to which the 'Edinburgh Review' owed its birth and primary influence. The spirit which predominated in this circle is pretty well known to the literary world. Though held under the spell of the Scottish school of philosophy, as then represented by the flowing eloquence and graceful 'auctoritas' of Stewart, yet it was struggling from time to time to be free. The love of physical science began to break in upon the steady action of the higher reflection; and the tendency to simplify the analysis of the mental phenomena, if it did not reach to the verge of materialism, yet showed a lingering relish for the principles of Hartley and Condillac. In the wake of this, there followed, as was quite natural there should, a weakening of the religious element within the mind, an absorption of the loftiest spiritual ideas, in the pursuit of natural phenomena, and an under current of sarcastic contempt aimed against the peculiar truths of revelation, which are usually denominated *evangelical*. Of this spirit it is well known that Brown largely partook, although his affection for his family, and the natural gentleness of his disposition always restrained any offensive expression thereof.

Two circumstances may yet be added, which must have operated considerably upon the formation of Brown's philosophic character. The one was his devotion to the studies of the medical profession. Where the mind is well fortified beforehand by habits of inward reflection, the pursuits of this profession may be in the highest degree valuable. The parallelism between the body and the mind, and their mutual adaptations, must be such, that the knowledge of the one is, to say the least, very suggestive of facts and operations relating to the other. But experience tells us, that where the love of the ideal has already grown dim, there is nothing more calculated than such an 'immersion in matter' as medical pursuits foster, to extinguish it altogether. The other circumstance to which we refer, was the peculiar tendency of the age at the time of which we are speaking. In



England, the school of Locke and Hartley had begun to push their principles into the extreme tenets of materialism. In France, the same doctrines were advocated with a brilliancy of style and a vigour of genius rarely excelled; the whole flow of the intellectual spirit of the age, seemed setting in towards the 'seen and temporal.' With this philosophy Brown was intimately acquainted. The graceful polish of the French style charmed his ear; the transparent clearness of the thoughts excited his admiration; the acuteness of the analyses perfectly coincided with his own peculiar genius; and, alas! the irreligious nature of the results created no revulsion in his mind. The counteracting influence of the German philosophy had as yet made little impression upon any of the English writers; for although the admiring biographer of Brown asserts that he studied the German language for scientific purposes, and cites his review of the philosophy of Kant as an evidence of his being able to make it 'as clear as its nature admits,' we should rather feel disposed to adduce both the review and the remark upon it, as an indication that neither Brown nor his biographer knew very much about the matter.

To sum up, therefore, in brief, the modifying circumstances which reacted upon the naturally analytic mind of our philosopher, we see that, while the influence of the Scottish metaphysics, of which he was a professed disciple, led him to secure certain fundamental laws of belief, as a barrier against the sweeping scepticism of Hume; yet, that he was led by his early associations, by his professional studies, by the tendency of the age, and by his own original love for simplification, into a metaphysical system, which we shall shew to be separated by a very narrow limit from sheer empiricism.

It is hardly necessary to remark, that every system of philosophy, and every attempt even at making a complete analysis of the human mind, must be very much modified by the view which is taken of one or two fundamental ideas or principles. Of these fundamental ideas, there is none, which has a greater share in the determination of our philosophical opinions, than that of *causality*. Around this one notion, or, as it might philosophically be termed, this one *category*, there seem to gather almost infinite germs of thought; and, according as it is viewed in the commencement of our speculation, will be the whole subsequent character of our philosophy. Upon this idea it mainly depends, whether nature is to be a succession of bare physical phenomena, or the developement of a living power; whether man is to be the creature of his circumstances, or the agent in his own self-unfolding; whether there be in our system of thinking a Creator, holding all things in his paternal embrace,

or whether the idea of a God be, in the language of Comte, a delusion incident to the infantile state of the human mind.

Brown's early speculations upon this abstruse but important question are well known. Incited by the torrent of bigotry which struggled to reject the claims of Mr. Leslie to the chair of mathematics in Edinburgh, on the ground of his defence of Hume's theory of Causation, he undertook to shew that this theory was in great measure correct, and where incorrect was perfectly harmless. The author did not perceive that the very theory, which he attempted to divest of all injurious imputations, was at that very moment poisoning the springs of philosophical truth deep in the centre of his own mind. True, he did not contend with Hume, that our whole notion of cause and effect is a mere induction from outward experience; but still he confined the law of our belief in the succession of phenomena to the simple confidence we feel in the invariable *precedence* and *consequence* of those natural events, which have been once seen in conjunction; firmly denying all human possibility of perceiving the existence either of *power* or of *adaptation* in the question. In other words, he rejected the principle of '*sufficient reason*.'

This theory of causation, we have no doubt, grew up into a firm conviction in the mind of our philosopher, from the habit he early formed of physical investigation. To the man who looks primarily *without*, the idea of power is never invested with a veritable reality, neither can it ever attain its true place in any system of philosophy which, starting from the objective world, works inwards to the mysteries of the human mind. Such was precisely the course which Brown followed in the construction of his philosophic character, and such the process by which he attempted to analyse the idea of causation. He gazed first upon the phenomena of nature, and saw nought but an invariable succession of certain events. The closer he analysed these events the firmer grew his conviction, that no link of connexion was to be discovered between them. Here, said he, is the gunpowder brought into contact with the spark, and there the explosion. What human being could foresee the adaptation of the antecedent to produce the consequent,—what eye detect the hidden power which operated from the one upon the other? Starting with such analyses as these, Brown reasoned inwards to the mind; and, having found the *reality* of power undistinguishable in the phenomena of nature, by the keenest perception we can exercise upon them, he set down the *idea* of power as a pure abstraction, under the veil of which we hide our ignorance of all which lies beyond the bare appearance of things.

How different would have been his conclusion had he begun with the soul, and reasoned outwards to the world of nature!

We turn the eye inwards, and what is the first thing of which we are conscious? Manifestly of *self*, or, in other words, *the will*,—the power of spontaneous effort and action. We raise our arm to remove an obstacle, and the change desired takes place. What do we *now* find to be involved in the phenomena? Do we say here is the movement of my arm, there the effect upon the object, and rest satisfied that the whole process is fully described? Far from it. We are conscious that we put forth *power*. The effort of the will is a thing just as real to our inner consciousness, as is the movement of the arm and its effect upon the object to our outward perception. Nay, we feel that this power was *necessary* to the result; that the arm and the obstacle would have lain in perpetual proximity without any change taking place, were not such an effort of power put forth by the mind. Here then is the true type of a cause, here the verification of the reality of power. Fraught with the instruction of this self-consciousness, we approach the wonders of nature, we gaze upon a perpetual succession of movements and changes that are ever taking place around us; and what conviction do they now suggest? Clearly this; that it is as little possible for the mere skeleton of nature which we see by the eye to start forth into activity without some unseen power or force to animate it, as it is for the arm we call our own to act without the energy of the will. The term *law* of nature in which the empiric so highly rejoices is, in truth, the abstraction by which he hides his ignorance; the term *power* of nature is that by which we express the natural and unsophisticated belief of humanity in the omnipresence of a Divine Spirit. This one idea of power contains, in fact, the elements of an undying faith in the soul and in God.

Imbued, then, with this fundamental error, Brown approached the closer investigation of the human mind. Having fortified himself by a great show of plausible reasoning, grounded upon the nature and principles of physical research, he set out with the firm impression, that power was a fiction, that the sum of all philosophy is to observe actual phenomena, and that when we have traced the laws of their succession to their highest pitch of generalisation, we have done all of which the human mind is really capable. The effect of this upon his first and fundamental view of the soul of man—the great object of intellectual science—soon became evident. Instead of regarding the mind, or as it is sometimes more expressively termed, *the me*, as holding, in itself, a spontaneous energy, he regarded it as a passive existence, subjected absolutely to certain impressions from without, and certain fixed laws of consciousness within. The phraseology by which the Scottish school had previously expressed our mental



phenomena, was little suitable to this altered point of view which he had adopted. That school had regarded the soul as a mighty energy, exerting its faculties, from the centre of its own being, upon things without ; but Brown, instead of adopting the language which speaks of *intellectual and active powers*, was now induced to describe mind as a spiritual existence, exposed to external influences or fixed laws, and ever passing over into an unceasing succession of *states*, according as these influences act upon it. It is curious to run through the whole of his lectures, and see how this idea follows him like a spectre, and modifies his opinions upon every point. In his classification, for example, of mental phenomena, he sees only *external and internal states* ; that is, the mind, like an unhappy paralytic, put into different positions by outward impulses, or internal arrangements, and obliged to remain stationless in each, until the next force comes to act upon it. With regard to our knowledge of the external world, he cannot think that the soul is able to go forth by its own activity, and seize the reality of objective existence around us ; it must wait till a new set of sensations connected with the action of the muscles (of which sensations he boasts himself the discoverer) teach us the important lesson that there is veritably an objective world as well as a subjective. How the mind reasons, however, from its muscular feelings, which, *as feelings*, must be purely subjective, after all, to the world without, and how it can infer any thing *beyond* itself from a sensation *within* itself, except by the aid of some primitive belief or intuition, he does not tell. Again, attention, which is pretty generally admitted to express the power of the will over our intellectual operations, stands, in the philosophy of Brown, for a modification of sensation : it is the state of mind in which 'the increased vividness of one sensation produces a corresponding faintness of others coexisting with it.' On the same principle we find the theory of recollection, which describes it as a species of voluntary memory, wholly rejected, and the process reduced to the laws of association. In fine, whether we regard the powers of memory, of judgment, of imagination—all these various forms of our mental activity are shown to arise from those fixed laws of suggestion, to the influence of which the mind of man is subjected as absolutely as is a machine to the 'primum mobile' by which it acts. Such was the result, as we believe, the *necessary* result of the theory of causation, with which Brown entered upon his philosophical career. Once exclude the idea of power from our enumeration of the elements of successive phenomena, and all we have to do in completing a mental analysis, is simply to set down the generic changes which our minds undergo, and to define the circumstances under which they take place. From such a process the

personal consciousness of effort, must, of course, in order to save the validity of the theory on which the whole proceeds, be entirely rejected.

Perhaps, however, there is nothing more characteristic of the spirit of Brown's writings, as a whole, than the warfare in which he engaged against the perceptionalist philosophy of Dr. Reid. To oppose the levelling principles of Hume's scepticism, had been the great passion of Reid's life. Incited by this desire, he had penetrated to the very core of the evil, and found it to originate mainly in the ideal system. This system, which has been recast and republished since the days of Aristotle, in so many different forms, has retained, in every instance, one essential element, namely, that our knowledge of external objects is conveyed by some kind of inward *representation* to the mind. Reid combatted this notion by every argument which his industrious and inventive mind could supply. He showed that if we are really dependent upon such an inward representation to give us a knowledge of the objective world, we may despair of that knowledge ever possessing any certainty, to which we can safely trust. The truth of such representation, as he correctly showed, could never be verified; because the verification of it would require us to perceive the objects *unrepresented*, the possibility of which is denied by the very hypothesis itself. Reid, accordingly, took his stand upon the principle, that we have an immediate and direct perception of things without us, and that we need no inward resemblance whatever to bring them home to our consciousness.

But now our philosopher comes to play *his* part upon the stage of this great controversy. And what does he do? He begins by asserting, that the ideal system had never been held in modern times at all; that Reid had, in matter of fact, been all the while fighting with straws, and that his claims to the glory of refuting the doctrine were accordingly vain and worthless. Singular phenomenon! Here is one philosopher struggling all his life against a giant evil, which he considers to be undermining the springs of human belief; and there is another who declares, that he was fighting against a spectre of his own imagination; or at least against the ghost of a monster, which had died and been buried long ago, in the dark ages.

The explanation of this phenomenon involves the illustration of Brown's philosophical character, which we designed to bring out. First of all, we cannot but remark the great incompetency which it betrays in his knowledge of the history of metaphysical thinking. When Brown denied the existence of the ideal system in modern times, he had his eye fixed upon the effluxions of Democritus, and the phantasms of Aristotle. In this form, it is

perfectly true, the theory in question never appeared after the jargon of scholasticism died away ; but it is equally true, that the representationalist hypothesis, which in every essential element is the same, lived on in all its vigour down to the period in which it met with Reid as an antagonist. Locke's theory of the understanding, for example, is built entirely upon it. In his system, inward *ideas*, as representatives of objective truth, cover the whole ground of the human consciousness ; and his great effort is to shew, that they correspond accurately with their archetypes. 'It is evident,' he says, 'that the mind knows not things immediately, but by the intervention of the ideas which it has of them : our knowledge, therefore, is real only so far as there is a conformity between our ideas and the reality of things.' The idealism of Berkeley, it is well known, and the scepticism of Hume, were equally built upon the arguments which this representationalist hypothesis afforded : and if so, it must be granted that it was no shadow of a departed reality, against which Reid directed the brunt of his life's controversy.

The chief point of the matter, however, still remains ; namely, that Brown himself, while he was denying the existence of the monster, which had roused the polemic ire of his predecessor, was really himself within its grasp. Like the harmless domestic creature to which common report assigns the possession of nine lives, this metaphysical hydra had crept again slyly into being, and revenged itself upon its adversary by gaining over the representative of his own philosophical school. Brown himself, despite all his assertions that the ideal system was buried and forgotten, was virtually one of its most uncompromising advocates. True, he did not advocate 'films,' and 'phantasms,' and 'sensible species ;' but in no work, either of ancient or modern times, is the representationalist hypothesis of human knowledge more fully asserted, and consistently maintained, than in his. While Reid asserted that our knowledge of the objective, in every act of perception, is *immediate* or intuitive, Brown asserted that we know nothing immediately, but the states and modifications of our own minds ; while the former rested the validity of our knowledge upon the firm basis of consciousness itself, the latter rested it upon a mere inference drawn from those inward phenomena to which alone, he affirms, we have any immediate access.

The origin of all the misunderstandings into which our author fell upon this subject, may be traced to that same theory of causation on which we have already animadverted. Accustomed to view mind, not as a *power*, but as a succession of different states of consciousness, he had no conception of the possibility of our having any direct knowledge, beyond these inward modi-



fications, which the soul undergoes. So intent was he upon this view of the case, that he did not even perceive the fundamental difference between Reid's theory of perception and his own; much less did he imagine that the latter really involved all the principles against which Reid directed his argumentation. A more patient investigation of the subject would have shewn him that, instead of convicting Reid of a useless struggle, he must himself either give up his fundamental stand-point, or gird himself to the task of meeting the very arguments, whose significancy he had called in question.

Let it be here remarked, how marvellously different extremes of opinion on any question meet together in their results. The empiric, who starts with the principle that every sensation and idea is the copy of some external reality, soon gets involved in the inevitable consequence, that these representations form the whole limit of our mind's activity. This being the case, there is a subjective circle described, beyond which no effort of philosophy can bring us. The idealist can here step in, and, dissipating with all imaginable ease the blind trust which is reposed in the objective validity of our sense-perceptions, will force us, one by one, into the admission of all his conclusions. And thus the philosophy which takes its start from the purely sensational, ends in a course of reasoning which binds us down to the purely ideal. Meantime, truth marches on in her course, and gathers strength from the very illustrations which error itself casts around her.

But we are forgetting that it is Brown's ethical opinions to which our remarks ought to be peculiarly directed. We regret, however, the length of illustration which we have devoted to his psychological principles so much the less, because his ethical theory was necessarily influenced—nay, even *created*—by them. Brown's moral system is acknowledged, even by the most ardent admirers of his mental philosophy, to be a failure. How could it be otherwise? He failed to bring to the subject the fundamental idea upon which all true moral reasoning rests; I mean the great idea of *human freedom*.

It is not a little remarkable, at first sight, that in a course of a hundred lectures, purporting to go over the whole ground of our mental and moral phenomena, not one single page should be devoted to the direct analysis of the will. The consciousness of voluntary effort, one would have thought, was a thing so clear and so universal, that a far less analytic mind than that of Brown *must* have given it a prominent place in his enunciation. In addition to this, the Scottish school, to which he belonged, had gone so far as to make the *powers of the will* one great division of our mental phenomena; so that his very historical position

would seem to have forced the subject fully upon his attention. A little consideration, however, shews us that, according to Brown's method of viewing the human consciousness, no place could be left for what is properly designated volition. Listen to the following account of our mental constitution :—

'All the feelings and thoughts of the mind, I have already frequently repeated, are only the mind itself existing in certain states. To these successive states, our knowledge of the mind, and consequently our arrangements, which can comprehend only what we know, are necessarily limited. With this simple word *state*, I use the phrase *affection of mind* as synonymous, to express the momentary feeling whatever it be ; with this difference only, that the word *affection* seems to me better suited to express that momentary feeling when considered as an effect.'

And again :—

'Our states of mind, or *our affections of mind*, are the simplest terms which I can use, for expressing the *whole series of phenomena of the mind in all their diversity*, as existing phenomena, without any mixture of hypothesis as to the particular mode in which the successive changes may be supposed to arise.'

Now here is a view of mind which conceives of it as an existence subjected merely to a series of *affections*, and ever passing through a succession of states, which are each absolutely determined by certain antecedents. In this theory, what place is there for *the will*—the power of spontaneous action—that one ever abiding fact of mind which is incapable of being reduced to the ordinary laws of causation? There can be really no self-action in the question—the will becomes here absolutely synonymous with *desire*, and the whole controversy respecting its liberty or its bondage is blotted out of the page of metaphysical discussion. That there is something at first sight plausible and apparently simple in Brown's view of our mental phenomena may be readily granted ; but nothing can be really more false and deceptive. It makes our consciousness to resemble a chain consisting of separate links, the one springing out of the other. Instead of this, it is like one continuous *thread*, without any division into parts, throughout the whole of which the intellect, the emotions, and the will are indissolubly woven together. The notion of transition-states is purely imaginary. There is no such transition in the soul : there are no fixed points in our being in which we can say, now I exist in one state of consciousness, and now I am passing over into another. Consciousness is a unity ; the elements of which it is composed run through the whole of its being ; every instant is a state and every instant is also a change ; to it being and progressing are the same things, and you can no more say that this moment's state of mind is determinative of the next,

than you can divide off a stream into certain lengths and say, this piece of the current is determined by that other piece, which went before it. Strictly speaking, the mind never does exist in certain states which are called now thought, now memory, now desire, &c., it is conscious rather of an eternal unbroken state of thinking, willing, desiring,—only that sometimes one element of its being is more predominant, and sometimes another.

Brown was too acute a reasoner not to deduce his moral theory by a valid logical process, from the views he had laid down upon psychology. He looked upon the moral phenomena as *states of mind*, which must have their proper antecedents in the chain of our consciousness. A little observation sufficed to determine what the antecedents and consequents really were. Here is an action performed in our presence,—what is the consequence? A feeling of approbation. Here is another perpetrated before our eyes, and the result is a feeling of disapprobation. In the actions we see certain antecedents, in the feelings we see certain consequents. In these successive phenomena, according to Brown, the whole nature of morals, as far as we can ever comprehend them, is included. What else is there to discover? We observe the facts of the case, and we mark the laws by which those facts recur. By this we see that the very principle, which had led our philosopher, in all physical research, to interdict the inquiry,—why is it that one event is succeeded by another, or what *adaptation* has the antecedent to bring about the consequent—that very principle resisted every effort he might otherwise have made to dive deeper into the nature of moral distinctions. The consequence is, that his whole theory is not only laid open to the charge of incompetency, but involves certain inferences, which are, to say the least, very startling to our moral sensibility. According to these inferences, moral distinctions, *i. e.*, good and evil, must depend solely upon the character of our emotions. A thing which produces moral approbation is *good*,—a thing which produces moral disapprobation is *evil*. The standard of moral excellence, then, must lie simply in our own feelings; were these feelings to vary, the grounds of right and wrong must vary also; nay, if there were a being or a race so different from ourselves as to feel disapprobation where we approve, and *vice versa*, then good would be to them evil, and evil would become good.

Another result of this method of reasoning is, that we must regard virtue as being, *per se*, a nonentity. A stone dropped from the house-top descends to the earth, and we say that it descends by the law of gravitation. A good action is committed



and it produces moral approbation in our minds : the cause of which approbation we say is the *virtue* of the action. Here, according to Brown's method of philosophising, are parallel cases. In the former case, he would say, that what we term gravitation is a mere abstraction, that the tendency of bodies to fall is a simple fact, which all may observe, but that no power or adaptation, nothing beyond the fact itself, can be said to appear in the whole phenomenon. In like manner, experience tells us that certain actions produce certain moral feelings in our minds ; but to assert that they do so in consequence of the *virtue* they possess, is to turn a mere abstraction into a reality. Virtuous agents there are, but virtue there is none,—it merely expresses the relation supposed to exist between the deed we admire, and the approbation which succeeds it.

Imperfect as we regard this account of moral distinctions, yet we place it in a higher rank than those utilitarian systems, which Brown so ably and eloquently exposed. It has, at least, the merit of appealing to a species of moral sense, which of itself would guard the shrine of virtue from the abuses, to which it has so often been exposed from the hands of those, who calculate good and evil by the pains and pleasures they involve. The misfortune is, that the spirit of Brown's philosophy, did not allow him to go one step deeper, and enquire after that eternal law of right, of which our moral sensibilities are a faint reflection. Just as external phenomena not only suffice to create a sensation in the mind, but lead us to the conception of an *absolute substance*, by which all the fleeting appearances of things are upheld ; so the contemplation of a right action, in addition to the personal emotion it excites, leads us to a region of moral distinctions absolute in its nature, and unchangeable in its laws. As the pure reason conducts us through the world of changing phenomena, to one of fixed and eternal *existence* ; so the practical reason hurries us through the storm of our moral sensibilities, into that serene atmosphere of absolute truth, where the moral order and harmony of the universe is seen to spring from the unchangeable nature of God himself.

The evils of Brown's ethical theory, we should say, arise from its defectiveness, rather than its actual errors. There are two great problems, of which moral philosophy ought to seek the solution, namely, what is conscience and what is virtue ? in other words, what are the moral elements in man, and what the law of right in the universe at large. To solve the first, we must shew, that there is a basis laid for responsibility in our free agency, that our free agency is directed by intelligence, and our intelligence stimulated by moral sensibility. Brown has pointed out the operations of the intelligence and the forms of our sen-

sibility, but of our free agency he has failed to give any satisfactory account; and without this, all moral accountability sinks into an empty name. With regard to the problem—what is virtue? Brown replies, if we may put the language of Bentham into his mouth, that it is a *fictitious entity*. Deluded by his psychological principles, he made no attempt to penetrate behind the veil of our feelings to the real world of moral truth itself; accordingly he has left behind him an ethical system, which merely plays upon the surface of the phenomena, but fails entirely to shew that our moral sentiments are grounded in the eternal nature of things themselves.

Having thus strongly expressed our views of Brown's errors and defects, it is but just that we should award him our meed of sincere admiration in those points where he is truly admirable. His wonderfully acute power of analysis, aided him in resolving many facts, which his predecessors had left unexplained. His polished and poetical mind threw a charm over every subject he undertook to discuss.\* His gentle nature, and loving heart, infused a warmth and tenderness into his style, which makes it peculiarly pleasing and persuasive. With such accompaniments every theory he propounds looks attractive and beautiful, his errors themselves are so charming that we would fain believe them for the loveliness of their exterior, and we are led almost insensibly into sympathy with his thoughts from the sympathy we cannot fail to have with his affections. Added to this, Brown, though not profoundly *read* in philosophical lore—yet was an eminently *learned* man in the usual acceptation of that word. His mind was stored with classical allusions, the choicest passages of our own most elegant literature were treasured up in his wonderfully retentive memory; and his knowledge of physical science was such as would have probably rendered him a discoverer in that department, had not the charms of poetry and philosophy attracted him into another sphere of mental action. All this has tended to give not only popularity, but a kind of weight and authority to his opinions upon metaphysical questions. It seemed impossible, that a mind so accomplished should wander far from the road of truth. On these grounds it is that the public has found it difficult to appreciate him aright, and for this very purpose, we have felt it to be the more needful to express as clearly as possible our dissent from many of his opinions.

The work, which has led to the preceding remarks, is a republication of Brown's lectures on Ethics and Natural Theology, with an introductory preface by Dr. Chalmers. To do the editor justice, we must say, that the Doctor has written a very lucid and impartial critique upon the subject. He has

dealt with the errors of his author, it is true, with a very gentle hand ; but no less firmly has he asserted the deficiency of his system as it now stands, and the absolute necessity of completing it by studying in connexion the profounder principles of Butler, upon the objective validity of moral distinctions, and the supremacy of conscience. If the work be read and judged of under the influence of this recommendation, we trust, that it may be productive of much instruction, as we have no doubt it will afford much enjoyment to many a reflective mind. There is one point of view indeed, in which we believe that the circulation of these lectures may be eminently useful, and that is in the masterly examination they afford of all those selfish and utilitarian systems, which have played their part and deluded their votaries in modern times. Upon this subject, Brown evidently felt strongly ; his own high moral sensibility could not endure to regard right and wrong under the aspect of a cold calculation of profit and loss ; and he has brought all his eloquence to bear upon the refutation of opinions so derogatory to the sanctity of moral truth. Added to this, the very fact that so great and so good a man as Dr. Chalmers, has ventured to send forth these lectures at once with the cordial expression of his admiration at much they contain, and the no less cordial recommendation to all who read them, to shun their errors and supply their defects,—this very fact, we say, may be sufficient to impress the real nature of moral truth upon many minds, who might otherwise have read the lectures in other editions with unmingled admiration. In fact, we can hardly help entertaining the secret thought, that one object in bringing out the present work, was to give the public the opportunity of reading it, in connection with the remarks, which the preface contains, and of seeing the weighty authority of Brown in some points counterbalanced by the equally illustrious name of Chalmers.

In an age marked like the present by a very lamentable dearth, in sound ethical writing, we hardly know how we could supply the place of these lectures, so far as the polemical part of them is concerned, with anything better. We say nothing to depreciate the valuable disquisitions of Payne and Wardlaw upon moral truth, nor the admirable work of the lamented Spalding ; we would rather entreat the ethical student first to peruse the masterly analysis which he will find in Brown, of the different systems, and then turn to the other writers we have mentioned, to supply the remaining deficiencies. Everything around us seems to impress the conviction, that in philosophy and morals, as well as in many other departments of thought, an enlightened eclecticism must be our guide. Let mind still continue to act upon mind : instead of condemning a man for



his intellectual errors, let us shew how they may be corrected by the sounder thinking of another, or the vigorous efforts of his own understanding; let the principle of labour by association be carried into the spiritual republic, and we have no fear of the result. It is only the weak and sickly understanding which trembles at beholding the wanderings of honest minds in the search after truth; the man who loves truth itself more than a system or a school, and has an unshaking confidence in its power, will see it gaining strength at every turn, and rejoice in the very controversies which, sweeping like storms through the stagnant atmosphere, render it only more clear and more pervious to the glorious light of heaven.

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Art. IV.—*Observations in Natural History: with an introduction on Habits of Observing, as connected with the Study of that Science. Also a Calendar of Periodic Phenomena in Natural History; with remarks on the importance of such Registers.* By the Rev. Leonard Jenyns, M.A., F.L.S., etc. 8vo. pp. 440. London: John Van Voorst, 1846.

MR. JENYNS in the present volume has contributed to natural science the result of his observations, commencing, when he was 'yet warm with the ardour inspired by a first perusal of White's own work,' and extending over a period of several years. His original intention was to publish the facts he had collected in the form of notes to a new edition of the *Natural History of Selborne*, but in consequence of the quantity of his materials, he found it necessary to embody them in a separate volume. We think that in doing so he has exercised a sound judgment. The system of overloading popular scientific works with editorial notes, and comments is, in many respects, objectionable. If a writer has really anything of value to communicate to the public, he had far better give it an independent existence, than seek to force it into notice, and probably consign it into oblivion, under the halo of another's reputation. The editorial system is alike unjust to himself and to his author. White's *Selborne* requires few notes either illustrative or emendatory. We like to read it as he left it. It is just what it professes to be—a simple record of his own observations within a particular district. And, therefore, with every respect to his numerous editors, we can only say that if we are to be favoured with a record of their experience, we prefer having it in *their own* pages and not in his.

Most field-naturalists have it in their power to make valuable contributions to their favourite science, and we always gladly welcome such, when they appear in a form similar to that adopted by Mr. Jenyns in the present instance. His work is a favorable specimen of the class. It makes a very readable book. His position as a country clergyman has afforded him excellent opportunities of investigating natural objects, and many of the facts which he has recorded are highly interesting. He already ranks high as a scientific naturalist, and the present work proves him to be a diligent and accurate observer. Still there are some particulars recorded in his pages of such trifling importance that they might have been safely omitted, and a considerable portion of the volume might, in our opinion, have been condensed with advantage. We wish, too, that a cheaper style of publication had been adopted. We have no sympathy with large type and leaded lines and blank spaces. By a judicious 'getting up' the bulk and price of the volume might have been reduced at least one half, and in that case we should have been spared the necessity of saying, that we think the money devoted to its purchase might, in this age of cheap literature, be better expended.

Mr. Jenyns opens his work with an essay on 'Habits of Observing.' Our readers are no doubt familiar with Mrs. Barbauld's tale entitled '*Eyes and no Eyes*,' and the lessons it teaches might be applied to a large section of mankind. It is astonishing how circumscribed is the knowledge which most persons have of the commonest objects by which they are surrounded. They may walk through the fields, or wander in the woods, but the varied notes of the birds strike on dull ears, and the eye fails to notice the opening blossom or the spangled insect. The study of natural history is nothing more than the exercise of our senses. It is simply to use our sight, our hearing, and our smell. If we examine the petals of a flower, the structure of an animal, or mark the transformations of a butterfly, we are to that extent naturalists. It is not necessary that we should enter into recondite questions of specific arrangements, or burden our memories with puzzling technicalities,—all these may be well in their place, but the study of nature may exist without them. Nor are we required to devote large portions of our time in order to derive enjoyment from natural history. The most pleasing departments of the science are the most easily accessible. In this, as in most other things, there are extremes on both sides. We meet with some men who have 'no eyes,' who stupidly deny themselves the gratification for which God has so exquisitely adapted their senses, and with others whose microscopical powers of vision

search into the most insignificant matters, and who devote months and years to a patient, but almost profitless enquiry.

We consider natural history, then, rather in the light of a recreation than of a study. And whilst we think that a life entirely devoted to it might be more usefully spent, we are convinced that there are very few persons who might not pay *some* attention to the pursuit with advantage and enjoyment. To those resident in the country, natural history offers especial inducements, not only as a means of amusement, but because they may obtain, by careful observation, practical knowledge of considerable value. Serious injury often arises to agriculturists from their ignorance of the habits of common species. Certain kinds of birds, for instance, are frequently destroyed in places where their preservation would be beneficial. And the ravages of insects are suffered to a great extent, when probably a little information respecting them, might suggest means for eradicating the evil. Mr. Jenyns has some remarks on this subject:—

‘It is to be regretted,’ he observes, ‘that the study of noxious insects is not more attended to by practical agriculturists. It is often such persons alone who can supply the facts necessary for clearing up their history. And the extent to which they suffer in their crops from the attacks of different species in certain seasons, one might have supposed a sufficient motive for undertaking the inquiry. Something has been done of late years in this way; but a vast deal more of investigation is needed to put us in the way of successfully counteracting these enemies, so as to prevent the immense damage they occasion. They may appear puny and insignificant when viewed singly; but, in their combined operations, they are often more destructive and alarming than other animals infinitely superior to them in size, and ranking far higher in the scale of nature.’—pp. 245, 246.

The perceptive faculties, like every other, derive accuracy and power from exercise. When the habit of observation has been acquired, it is astonishing how many objects of interest strike the senses that would have been otherwise unnoticed. To the observer, it is like a new creation; and barren spots, which formerly appeared destitute of life, are now seen to possess multitudes of active inhabitants.

The exercise of our perceptive faculties can scarcely fail to impress us with the fact that this earth is full of happy beings. The miseries of man, the offspring of his own perverse disobedience to the benevolent administration of God, stand out as the only blot upon the face of creation. In every other direction, there seems to be ‘the greatest possible happiness to the greatest possible number.’ The minutest organism, whose existence can only be reckoned by seconds, sports in its tiny



world and has its joy. As we ascend higher in the scale of animated beings, the capabilities of pleasurable sensations are developed, and receive ample gratification. As Paley says in his chapter on the 'Goodness of the Deity,'—'*It is a happy world after all.* The air, the earth, and the water, teem with delighted existence.' And he illustrates this statement by telling us that, 'walking by the sea-side in a calm evening, upon a sandy shore, and with an ebbing tide, he had frequently remarked the appearance of a dark cloud, or rather, very thick mist hanging over the edge of the water to the height, perhaps, of half a yard, and of the breadth of two or three yards, stretching along the coast as far as the eye could reach, and always retiring with the water. When this cloud came to be examined, it proved to be nothing else than so much space, filled with young *shrimps*, in the act of bounding into the air from the shallow margin of the water, or from the wet sand. If any motion of a mute animal could express delight, it was this; if they had meant to make signs of their happiness, they could not have done it more intelligibly. Suppose then, what I have no doubt of, each individual of this number to be in a state of positive enjoyment; what a sum collectively of gratification and pleasure have we here before our view!'—(*Natural Theology.*)

It is utterly impossible for the mind to form anything like an adequate conception of the vast multitudes of beings which may thus be discovered enjoying life, under varied circumstances, in every portion of this world's surface. If we confine our attention to a single and very limited district, we shall be surprised to find how great a variety of species it contains. And if we continue our investigations in the same spot, for a succession of years, we shall discover, as was the case with Gilbert White, at Selborne, that the store is exhaustless, and that 'new occurrences still arise as long as any inquiries are kept alive.'—(*Letter 49, to Barrington.*) St. Pierre, in his *Studies of Nature*, says:—'One day, in summer, while I was busied in the arrangement of some observations which I had made, I perceived on a strawberry plant, which had been accidentally placed in my window, some small winged insects, so very beautiful, that I took a fancy to describe them. Next day, a different sort appeared, which I proceeded likewise to describe. In the course of three weeks no less than thirty-seven species, totally distinct, had visited my strawberry plant: at length, they came in such crowds, and presented such variety, that I was constrained to relinquish this study, though highly amusing, for want of leisure.'

The irregular appearance of species in certain localities, or in singular situations, and the occasional abundance of some of the

rarer kinds, are very strange, and often inexplicable occurrences.

'Few things,' says Mr. Jenyns, 'are more remarkable in natural history than the sudden appearance of species, in great plenty, in places in which they had been previously unknown. This has often been observed amongst insects, but such an occurrence is not confined to that class of animals: it happens not unfrequently with animals of other classes. I have twice especially had my attention called to this circumstance in the case of the fresh-water mollusks. The first instance occurred in 1822. During the spring and summer of that year, some small pits in this parish, the bottom of which consists of a gravelly clay, and which are generally full of water, but sometimes dry, swarmed with *limneus glutinosus* to such an extent that the shells might be scooped out by hand-fulls: in some places, if a bucket had been lowered into the water, it might have been drawn up half full with them. Many other species of *mollusca* were in company with the above *limneus*; but this species was the most abundant, and, from the circumstance of its being usually accounted rare, the most interesting of all. Many of the specimens were large, much exceeding in size any I have seen in collections. These shells, however, did not prevail in any great numbers after that year. A few continued to show themselves for three or four seasons, but they gradually disappeared; and now many years have elapsed since I noticed even a single individual.'—pp. 318, 319.

The second case which Mr. Jenyns has observed of the sudden appearance of a fresh-water mollusk, is even more singular than the former. It occurred in the month of February, 1825.

'The early part of that month had been very wet, causing the water to stagnate in large puddles in several parts of the park at Bottisham Hall, but which parts are not usually flooded, though sometimes a little swampy. Happening shortly afterwards to cross the park with a shell-net in hand, I immersed it into one of these puddles casually as I passed, when, to my surprise, I drew it out full of the *aplexus hypnorum*, a species which I had not at that time taken before in Cambridgeshire, though I have since met with it in one or two places. *In this puddle the shells were collected in immense quantities, whilst none of the other puddles contained one.* The shells were of various sizes, though none were full-grown. It were almost vain to speculate as to how they came there. Even supposing that the spawn had been dormant in the soil, or conveyed there in any way the imagination can suggest, still, how could the shells have acquired so rapid a growth in the short time the water had been standing in that spot? The puddle was scarcely more than three feet by two across; it had not been in existence above a fortnight at longest; it was only a few inches deep; and half-a-dozen fine days would have been sufficient to lay it dry again. Such, in fact,

proved to be the case before the month had expired, and *the species has not been observed since in that locality.*'—pp. 319, 320.

Certain species of insects occasionally are seen in immense swarms for a few days, and then entirely disappear. An instance of this occurred in one of the upper rooms of the Provost's Lodge in King's College, Cambridge, in September 1831, when a small fly belonging to the genus *Chlorops* appeared suddenly in such vast quantities as almost to exceed belief. Mr. Jenyns visited Cambridge about a fortnight after their first appearance, and although their numbers had been, in the interval, considerably thinned, he found them still in 'immense profusion,' and he was assured that in the first instance the greater part of the ceiling towards the window of the room was so thickly covered as not to be visible.

Mr. Jenyns gives the following account of a remarkable swarm of *Aphides*, which he observed on October 3rd, 1822 :—

' This morning on rising we found the air completely choked with *aphides*. The steps of the house-door, and even the very walls, were black with them. On walking out, myriads alighted upon one's clothes ; and getting into one's eyes, and nose, proved an intolerable nuisance. In the middle of the day I took a circuit of about three or four miles from home, but found the quantities of these insects the same wherever I went. A friend, too, who arrived from Cambridge, distant about eight miles off, assured us they were in equal plenty there. Where could these prodigious multitudes come from, and whither where they directing their flight ? Such questions are easier asked than answered. It is worth noting, that the day was particularly mild and calm for the time of year, and had begun with a fast mizzling rain, which lasted for a considerable part of the morning. At four p.m. the thermometer was as high as 64 degrees. The wind was easterly, and had blown steadily from that quarter for three or four days previous.'—p. 283.

Gilbert White records a similar swarm of *Aphides* at Selborne, on August 1, 1785, and mentions that the wind was 'all the day in the *easterly* quarter.' The agreement of this with Mr. Jenyns's observation, seems to suggest the probability that the phenomenon is in some way connected with an easterly wind. It may perhaps, however, be nothing more than a coincidence. We remember a similar visitation of these insects in the south of Lancashire, during the year 1834, but unfortunately have no memorandum of the direction of the wind during the occurrence. The countless myriads of *aphides* which filled the air for miles, on the occasion referred to, far exceeded anything we could have imagined, or have since witnessed.

In the 'Naturalist's Calendar,' White mentions the swarms



of gnats which are sometimes seen in the fens of the Isle of Ely, and which bear, from their density, a considerable resemblance to clouds of smoke. Mr. Jenyns informs us, that in the autumn of 1843, one of these clouds of minute insects was seen rising from the top of the west tower of Ely Cathedral, and the appearance was so much like smoke that an alarm was raised, under the idea that the cathedral was on fire. Nor was it until some men had ascended to the top of the building that the cause of this curious deception was satisfactorily ascertained.

If we find it difficult to suggest a satisfactory explanation of the irregular appearance of such vast numbers of certain species, it is sometimes not much less difficult to account for the occurrence of single specimens in peculiar localities. Thus Mr. Jenyns mentions that a single specimen of the Pomeranian bream (*abramis buggenhagii*) a large and rare kind of fish, was met with in the water in the park at Bottisham Hall. It was the first, and has hitherto been the only, specimen that has occurred in that locality, although often sought for. Mr. Jenyns justly regards this as rather a 'puzzling' circumstance, but suggests that the bream may possibly have been introduced into the water, when very young, with other small fish of the common kinds as food for the pike; still a difficulty remains, as in the neighbouring river, from whence the small fishes are taken, the Pomeranian bream has never been met with, although the river has been constantly fished in, and even carefully dragged with nets with a view of ascertaining what species inhabit it. It is rather curious that the only three specimens of the Pomeranian bream which have been found in this country have occurred, singly, in localities considerably apart. The first was procured from Dagenham Breach in Essex, the second was the individual above referred to, and the last one has recently been received by Mr. Yarrell from Wolverhampton.

Mr. Jenyns records the capture of two immense specimens of the sharp-nosed eel (*anguilla acutirostris*) in a drain near Wisbeach. One of them weighed twenty-eight pounds, and the other twenty-two pounds. The length of each was upwards of six feet, and their girth equalled that of a man's leg. These enormous creatures were the sole inhabitants of the drain, no other fish of any kind having been found with them. Their stuffed skins were for some years exhibited, in a fish-monger's shop, to the wondering gaze of the inhabitants of Cambridge.

Leaving these irregular occurrences in natural history, we shall now proceed to notice some of the more regular phenomena. Mr. Jenyns being desirous of knowing the exact time at which the different species of birds commence singing on a fine summer's morning, took means to gratify his curiosity on

the mornings of July 17, 1826, July 4, 1843, and June 13, 1845. The results of his observations on each occasion are given in a tabular form, and the regularity which the little songsters displayed in their hours of rising is very remarkable. Mr. Jenyns observes, that—

‘ On comparing the tables, it will be seen that on all three occasions the skylark was the earliest of our song-birds, strictly so called, heard actually singing. It commences about two o’clock, which, in the first of the above instances, would be very nearly two hours before sunrise :—

‘ Up springs the lark,  
Shrill-voic’d and loud, the messenger of morn ;  
Ere yet the shadows fly, he mounted sings  
Amid the dawning clouds, and from their haunts  
Calls up the tuneful nations.’

‘ This fact is worth noting, because Dr. Jenner has denied that the lark is entitled to the credit of this precedency, giving it to the redbreast. The redbreast is undoubtedly an early bird, but it is not, usually, even the next after the skylark. In two of the above instances, though heard chirping, it was not heard to sing at all. This may have been accidental ; but in the third instance it was not heard until after the blackbird, and not till nearly half an hour after the lark. The earliest species, in general, after the lark, appear to be the thrush, the swallow, the blackbird, and the yellow-hammer. The blackbird I have repeatedly noted on various occasions to commence about ten minutes after the thrush, as in the first two of the above instances ; though in the third of these instances the blackbird was heard first. The yellow-hammer is remarkable for its great regularity in keeping to a given hour, which, during the height of summer, is three o’clock, a few minutes before or after. This species is followed generally by the chaffinch. The linnet, greenfinch, and wren appear to be among the later birds, and are seldom heard till near four o’clock, if not after that hour, though the last is earlier sometimes than others.’—pp. 98, 99.

Although the lark takes the precedence of all other song-birds, and may justly be distinguished as ‘ the messenger of morn,’ the crowing of the cock is still earlier. On the third occasion noted by Mr. Jenyns, the cock’s crow was heard at one hour fifty-one minutes A. M. The lark commenced its song seven minutes later. Amongst the laggards is the wren, which, for so sprightly a little bird, is remarkably lazy. It makes up, however, for its late rising, by singing throughout the year. The thrush is not only one of the earliest birds, but is often the latest songster. It commences at about half-past two in the morning, and, on a summer’s eve, its fine notes may be heard long after sun-set. Mr. Jenyns records an instance of its singing, during the first week in July, as late as twenty minutes

past nine, P. M. White, in his first letter to Mr. Daines Barrington, gives a list of birds that sing in the night, which includes only the nightingale, wood-lark, and lesser reed-sparrow. In addition to these, the cuckoo is frequently a night songster; and Mr. Jenyns mentions, that, on the 30th of April, 1843, he heard a hedge accentor singing after midnight. This, however, can only be regarded as a very unusual occurrence, and by no means a habit of the species.

The pugnacious disposition of the redbreast is pretty generally known. But our readers would scarcely imagine that so gentle a bird is capable of the violent passion which the following instances display. The facts were communicated to Mr. Jenyns by Mr. Selby, of Twizell House.

'A redbreast had for some time taken up its abode in a hothouse, from which it had egress at pleasure. One day, when the gardener was in the house, another redbreast found his way in; but he had no sooner made his appearance than he was furiously attacked by the usual tenant, and soon shewed that he had the worst of the combat; so severely was he treated, that he was taken up by the gardener, and held in his hand, where he lay struggling and panting for breath. The victor, however, was not thus to be deterred from further wreaking his vengeance upon the intruder. He boldly flew, and alighted on the hand of the gardener; and forthwith proceeded to peck the head of his victim, and buffet him in such a manner that he would soon have put him *hors de combat*, had not the gardener carried him out, and turned him off at some distance from the building.

'Mr. Selby mentions another instance, in which a most determined battle was fought between two redbreasts, who were so engrossed with the combat, that they allowed themselves to be twice taken up and separated by a person witnessing it. The occupation of a shed seemed to be the object of dispute.'—pp. 129, 130.

Those of our readers who are bee fanciers will be interested in knowing a fact which Mr. Jenyns communicates, that dahlia blossoms are destructive of bees. There is some poisonous quality in the flowers which intoxicates these insects, and generally kills them. A writer in the 'Gardener's Chronicle,' who had been a successful keeper of bees, on rather a large scale, having had upwards of twenty hives yearly, commenced growing dahlias in his garden, and he states that, in consequence, the bees speedily declined, until at length he had to give them up altogether.

Mr. Jenyns concludes his volume by 'Remarks on the Importance of Registers of Periodic Phenomena in Natural History,' and illustrates his views by appending a very full calendar of his own observations in the neighbourhood of Swaffham Bulbeck. We confess ourselves unable to perceive all the im-



portant advantages which Mr. Jenyns attaches to such registers ; but to those who sympathise with his views, and are willing to devote the necessary time and attention to the matter, the calendar which he has given will be found a very excellent guide for their direction.

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Art. V.—*Sermons occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Hugh Heugh, D.D., by James Taylor, D.D., John Brown, D.D., and Ralph Wardlaw, D.D. : with Address, before the Interment, by James Harper, D.D.* Glasgow : David Robertson ; London : Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1846.

THESE discourses are an affectionate and eloquent memorial of a deceased servant of Christ, who for a long period occupied a lofty position, and filled a wide and enlarging sphere of usefulness in the United Secession Church. His labours, however, were not confined to his own denomination. His name was associated with the advocacy of Christian truth and liberty throughout the kingdom. An attempt to sketch his life and character will, we have no doubt, be interesting to all who knew him—to all who honour the memory of one who with unwearied energy and cordial sincerity ‘served his own generation by the will of God.’

Dr. Heugh was born at Stirling, on the 12th of August, 1782, and died in Glasgow on the 10th of June, 1846. The records of his early life have, perhaps, not more than the usual interest which belongs to the scenes of boyhood and adolescence. In all departments of early training he proved himself an apt and willing student—won the approbation of his teachers, and the affection and esteem of his fellow pupils. The distinctive features of his juvenile character were quickness of apprehension, sprightly vigour of intellect, uncommon ardour and elasticity of temperament. Time only ripened and developed these germs ; and the culture he enjoyed from able teachers, both at the Grammar School, College, and Divinity Hall, was exceedingly auspicious to the growth and confirmation of these natural gifts. Above all, he had early acquired habits which never allowed him to trifle with any task he undertook. Whatever he did, he did ‘with his might.’ His whole soul was always given to any study which required mental application—to any enterprise which demanded zeal or activity. His was ever ‘life in earnest.’ The fervour of youth was not quelled by the gravity of age ; it was only kept from wasting its exuberance in foliage and blossoms.

Dr. Heugh does not appear to have cherished a marked predilection for any special branch of his youthful studies. His scholarship was respectable, and though it did not reach to a varied or extensive erudition, it was ample enough for all the purposes to which its possessor applied it. Acquaintance with classic literature was not cultivated by him in riper years. He felt more interest in the gods of Tahiti—in their history, worship, and overthrow—than in the divinities of Greece and Rome, with their magnificent temples, statues, and altars. Heathenism in the pages of Williams or Moffat was to him a more attractive study than in the pages of Horace or Pindar. The prelections of Dugald Stewart did not woo him far into metaphysical researches—did not inoculate him with any decided taste for psychological investigations. Perhaps they accomplished what for him was a more desirable result. They were models of simple statement, natural arrangement, luminous argument, nervous style, and elegant elocution, and seem to have left an indelible impression on the mind of Dr. Heugh—such an impression as led him in his preparatory course not only to admire and imitate these coveted qualities of thought and diction, but also, in due time, to exemplify them in his public discourses. Still, though he was conversant to some extent with the chief works of the Scottish metaphysicians, his mind was essentially of a practical cast. His power was felt more in following out the actual, than in theorising on the abstract. It was not the mind of man as a spiritual creature, in its faculties, laws, and tendencies, but the mind of man filled with darkness, oppressed with sin, and estranged from God, that he had made his peculiar study, and with which he was eminently fitted to deal. It was not the human heart in its emotions, habits, and susceptibilities, that he laboured to understand, but he toiled to know so as to overcome its enmity to goodness, its alienation from its Maker, its reluctance to a free salvation, and its instinctive love of false refuges. It was not man as a creature, but man as a sinner, that he made the daily object of his contemplation. All his studies had a practical bearing upon the best interests of his race. He cared not for mere accomplishment; and when he did indulge in speculation—when his mind took a flight into the spiritual empyrean, it was not like the lark that soars and sings, and returns empty, but like the bird of prey that ascends only that he may pounce upon his spoil, and bear it back with him to his resting-place. Dr. Heugh's mind was improved more by observation, than by reading. He possessed a shrewd penetration, had a keen discernment of men and things. The living race of men before his eyes were, in their various actings and combinations, studied with continued anxiety, and their motives

and history were divined with a rare and practised sagacity. Originality of thought, in the highest sense of the word, Dr. Heugh had not, and he did not covet it. He made the best use of ordinary truths. But he possessed, in no small degree, originality of conception in reference to the best modes of doing good—of drawing out the energies of the church—of accomplishing the vast enterprise of the world's regeneration. His plans were sometimes novel, yet not Utopian, the result of bold, but calm calculation. 'His great strength lay' in the organization and prosecution of such schemes of Christian philanthropy. His heart was right, and, as Howe says of Clarkson, 'he lived here, as one who had no other business on earth, but to help in making it better.'

The early manifestation of religious principle in Dr. Heugh was another index of his subsequent life. His spiritual experience varied little in nature from its first characteristics. According to his own testimony on his death-bed, it was in youth, what it was in age, calm, lowly, confiding, and happy—ever affording strength for the discharge of duty, and patience for the endurance of trial. It began not in terror and agony, the dark cloud seems never to have rested upon it, and at last the shadow of death did not eclipse it. Its gladness might not soar into extasy, but its humility never darkened into despair. The raptures of a brilliant imagination that 'mounts up with wings as eagles' did not belong to it; but the truth as it is in Jesus clearly understood and cordially embraced, gave it that serene and noble vigour, that 'runs and is not weary, that walks and is not faint.' It was inwrought with his oldest reminiscences, and growing up with his opening mind, filled his expanding prospect, and tinged with its own lovely hues all his preparatory studies. 'Those that be planted in the house of the Lord, shall flourish in the courts of our God; they shall still bring forth fruit in old age.' Dr. Heugh seems never to have indulged in any morbid anatomy of his spiritual states. Self-examination was indeed a constant work, but it ended neither in melancholy nor spiritual pride. He knew in whom he had believed. His vigorous faith was clothed upon with works. Walking with God, he wrought with God. Striving to be good, he also laboured to do good. That luxurious indolence which wraps itself up in a selfish enjoyment of spiritual repose, and exhausts its little effort in saying, 'it is good to be here,' was foreign to his nature. His ambition was to be like him who 'went about doing good.' He cherished this spirit in himself, and was ever toiling to infuse it into others. 'Steadfast and unmoveable' in his own spiritual consciousness, he 'always abounded in the work of the Lord.'



It is a rare and remarkable fact, that the father, grandfather, and one of the great grandfathers of Dr. Heugh were ministers of the gospel. He was thus of the family of Levi—of the house of Aaron. Three of these ancestors belonged to the national church, and died before the period of the Secession. Dr. Heugh's father, the Rev. John Heugh, for some time tutor in logic and metaphysics at Abernethy, in the academy of the early seceders, and afterwards for fifty-six years pastor of one of the seceding churches in Stirling, was a man in many respects beyond his age. His mind was liberal and his heart was set upon the improvement of the ministry in the sect to which he belonged. The style of preaching in Scotland about that period was very often tedious and scholastic, while the tone of delivery was a drawling monotony. Mr. Heugh, of Stirling, in 1761, brought an overture before the Secession synod, which was so highly approved of, as to be adopted and published under the name of an 'Act anent preaching.' In this document (Mr. Heugh's own language being employed), 'preachers are warned against an affected pedantry of style and pronunciation, and against all such meanness and impropriety of language as hath a tendency to bring discredit on the gospel: as also, against using technical, philosophical, and learned terms that are not generally understood.' The instruction and example of such a sire must have had no little influence on the susceptible mind of his son, who not only spent the first twenty years of his life chiefly under the paternal roof, but was associated in the ministry with his father over the congregation at Stirling for four years. The spirit of Elijah descended on his successor. Dr. Heugh's pastorate in Stirling lasted for about fifteen years, and there he laid the foundation both of future eminence and fame. The sphere of his labour in Stirling was not wide, but it accustomed him to those modes of study, those habits of punctuality, those facilities of public address, which gave such value and reputation to his life and ministry in Glasgow. He had three invitations—calls as they are termed north of the Tweed—ere he was ordained at Stirling, and during his ministry there, he was called once to Edinburgh, but refused the invitation, and three times was he called by the congregation in Glasgow, ere he felt it his duty to accede to their wishes, or the synod which in those days had supreme power in such cases, and gave ultimate judgment in them,—decreed his removal to the western metropolis. He was the first pastor of the congregation in Glasgow, but it grew rapidly\* under his prosperous

\* More than 300 persons applied for admission to the church at the first communion which he dispensed; 80 of whom only were at that time, after a cautious scrutiny, admitted.

ministry, and is now in no respect second to any in the denomination with which it is connected. The last twenty-five years of Dr. Heugh's life were thus spent in a large and populous city, and in the midst of a numerous and attached flock, who to relieve him from a portion of his labour, agreed, about two years ago, to give him a colleague. Accordingly, in the beginning of the present year he received one, the Rev. Dr. Taylor, whom he welcomed with unbounded confidence and affection. But he was not permitted to labour long with his fellow-helper. The Head of the church graciously permitted him only to introduce the junior minister to his people. He preached but once after Dr. Taylor's induction to the congregation, was once with him in the session, once in the prayer-meeting, once in a diet of visitation, once in a meeting of presbytery, once in waiting upon the sick, once in the dispensation of the Lord's Supper. These incidents are very striking. He was favoured to introduce his colleague into all the departments of pastoral duties—only waited to see him initiated—only tarried to behold the work committed to his hands, and then left the scenes of the outer court and ascended to the honours and enjoyments of the inner sanctuary. His death was peaceful; his mind never lost its calm confidence. The following extract from the sermon, preached on the occasion of Dr. Heugh's death, by Dr. Brown, will illustrate both pleasingly and fully the statement we have made :

‘ On the 7th, which was Sabbath, he said to me,\* ‘ I have just been telling your mother that the ground of my peace is not myself, or any thing about myself, but entirely Jesus, and his sure promise to me.’ In a little, he said, ‘ There is no peace but in him, but in him is great peace.’ He said also, ‘ I desire to suffer whatever is allotted to me; but I think it will not be more than two or three days ere I see Jesus.’ On Sabbath night he said, ‘ Oh, I have been wondrously exempt from trials, and loaded with mercies! Every day might have brought evil, merited evil, but it never came.’ When his usefulness was mentioned as a ground of comfort, he said, ‘ That is a temptation to be guarded against; it is not I that did it, but Christ.’ He also said, ‘ There is nothing I feel more than the criminality of not trusting Christ without doubt—without doubt.’

‘ On Monday evening he was heard saying in his sleep, ‘ There is not the slightest doubt that Christ will give me his own strength to do his own work.’ On Tuesday morning, awaking about two o'clock from a long, sweet sleep, he said, ‘ Such a night as I have had; such a night of peace!’ I said, ‘ What were you thinking of?’ He said, ‘ Just of Christ—just trusting—just trusting.’ He added, ‘ Oh, to think what Christ is, what he did, and whom he did it for, and *then* not to believe him, not to trust him! There is no wickedness like the wickedness of unbelief.’ He said again, in a little while,

\* A member of his own family.



'Early in the course of my religious profession, I was convinced that I must implicitly trust Christ, and when I had wicked doubts and misgivings, I went constantly to himself, and, 'Lord help my unbelief, Lord increase my faith,' was my prayer. I prayed always to him to help mine unbelief, till he helped it away, so that I might get entire trust; and I got it, and I have it *now*. If I had a million souls I would entrust them all to him.'

'During the Tuesday evening, his last night on earth, he dwelt on the thought, 'Commit all to Christ.' On being asked if this was his last message, he said, 'Yes, my last message; but I cannot now distinguish and enlarge. If you had a thousand souls, give them all to Christ. Don't let difficulties hinder you; you must never mind difficulties. Now,' he added, after a pause, 'that is a relief.' On being asked if it was a relief to be able to say these things? 'Yes,' he instantly replied, 'and to *do* them.' After a short time, he repeated, speaking with the utmost difficulty, but with great solemnity, and with all the energy he could command, 'We must have our loins girt, and our lights burning, and be like those who wait for the coming of their Lord.' He repeated four times, 'Whosoever believeth on him shall not perish, but have everlasting life.' There are many testimonies in the gospel, but the outline of them all is just this: 'Whosoever believeth on him shall not perish, but have everlasting life.' This is the whole gospel.'

The term of Dr. Heugh's ministry in Glasgow was eminently prosperous. He was a diligent, faithful, and successful pastor. His time was wholly taken up with public and private duties. His people were his care, his 'joy, and crown of rejoicing.' His mind was ever teeming with plans for their welfare—for the education of their liberality in the best of causes. As a preacher he enjoyed a very large share of popularity. His demeanour in the pulpit was calm and dignified, his action solemn and graceful, his enunciation distinct and pleasing. His delivery was ever accompanied with that gravity and warmth which became one who prays men 'in Christ's stead.' His personal appearance aided his manly and animated elocution. He took a clear, succinct view of his subject, selected its most prominent ideas, surrounded them with apt and homely illustrations, and gradually brought them to bear on the duties, relations, circumstances, and prospects of his audience. Flights of oratory for mere embellishment, scenes of pathos created for mere impression, he never attempted. All was easy and natural; the plainest truth came from his lips with striking solemnity. The popularity of his preaching was not its deep grasp, original illustration, striking remark, laboured argument, or vehement appeal, but its plain statement and lucid reasoning, imbued with deep and unaffected earnestness, clothed in simple and forcible language, and delivered with easy, elegant, and impressive



dignity. He never dazzled or surprised. The light he diffused was clear and sunlike, such as refreshed and directed the spiritual vision; and the wonder his hearers felt was, that they had not before apprehended the plainness and felt the power of such truths as were brought before them,—truths that now appeared so scriptural in their basis, so reasonable in themselves, so important in their bearing, so harmonious in their aspects, so practical in their results. His was useful preaching, for it always afforded instruction and excitement. It was not exclusively of one cast or character. It always connected faith and practice, creed and experience. His expositions of scripture were prepared with conscientious fidelity, and he laboured to give them a resemblance to scripture itself—to make them ‘profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.’ Dr. Heugh’s style, which appeared so pleasing, when spoken in his own silvery tones, was not so attractive when read in a printed discourse, yet it was always clear; no one could mistake its meaning. No haze rested upon its paragraphs, and though it had not the beauty and polish of classic refinement, it was good, hearty, correct English. Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth spake.

The amount of pastoral duty done by Dr. Heugh was incredibly great. Few have excelled him in this department. His visitation of his large flock was incessant. Amidst numerous and pressing avocations, demanding no small portion of his time, and requiring frequent absences from home—frequent appearances on the platform, and attendance upon various committees—he sometimes, in the course of one year, visited nearly all the households of his people, when the membership of his church numbered about twelve hundred. The young had an especial share in his labour, and students preparing for the ministry ever found in him a friend and father. Especially was he successful in developing the resources of his people, in raising among them the standard of liberality, so that their ‘zeal provoked very many.’ Dr. Heugh’s labours in this province of ministerial duty have in their benign influences been felt over the breadth of the churches. He led the way and set the example. His congregation showed themselves ready to every good work, and their pastor regularly devoted one-tenth part of his income to causes of common charity or Christian benevolence. The entire Secession Church is now working out the schemes which he was mainly instrumental in commencing and forwarding. Dr. Brown says, page 73, ‘We should have a very inadequate idea of your late minister’s labours since he came to this city, were we to think only of the discharge of his duties to you. In all the public business of his own denomination he

took an active part. Some of the most important improvements originated in his suggestions, and were carried into effect through his exertions; and of every one of them he was the wise, zealous, laborious promoter. It is a testimony to which, we believe, his brethren will readily respond, that to no one individual has the Secession Church been more indebted for the success which has attended its Home and Foreign Missions, and its benevolent schemes for sustaining weak congregations, and adding to the income of inadequately supported ministers. His exertions in the ecclesiastical courts and from the press were mainly instrumental in saving the denomination from shipwreck in that stormy sea of doctrinal discussion from which it has just escaped, without sacrifice of principle, and with the least possible loss of numbers. At what a cost this was done to himself will not be known till the judgment-day. But his Master will take care that he shall be no loser.'

The labours of Dr. Heugh were not confined to the interests of his own denomination. His heart was imbued with a catholic charity. Whatever advanced the interests of humanity had a share in his toils and anxieties. In the advocacy of anti-slavery principles he bore a useful and prominent part. His pleadings on behalf of the fettered negro were both frequent and powerful. His latest public appearances were on behalf of free trade and the abolition of the corn laws. Immense crowds hung upon his lips; and his fellow-citizens felt proud of his oration in the presence of those distinguished English visitors, who had come to address them. He charmed Messrs. Cobden and Bright with the ease, power, and fire, of his remarks.

Especially of late years, he stood out with peculiar prominence in his assertion and vindication of the voluntary principle. Few enterprises have ever met with more determined opposition, with more malignant hostility, than the formation of voluntary church societies. The dissenters of Scotland had gradually come to the conviction that it was their duty, not only to protest against the tyranny of an establishment, but against its very existence. What its friends palliated as its abuses, dissenters believed to be its legitimate fruits. They came to the decided belief that the civil establishment of religion was an anti-scriptural institute, unjust in its claims, inimical to the rights of conscience, and injurious to the interests of Christianity. The Establishment in their country was presented to them in its poorest, and therefore in its purest form, nevertheless, they saw enough to convince them of its anti-christian nature and tendency. Their minds had been enlightened by the publications of Ballantyne and Marshall, but the cause was advanced principally, if not altogether, by the ad-



dresses of such men as Heugh, Wardlaw, and Brown, with hosts of able, willing, and eloquent co-adjutors. Many and virulent were the attacks on the leaders in the controversy. The establishment discharged the vials of its wrath upon them; they were ranked with the vilest democrats, and their principles were branded as infidel and revolutionary, involving at the same time a recreant denial of Christ's headship over the nations. The keenness of the controversy was unparalleled. The pillars of society were shaken. The church by law established bestirred itself, laboured to extend its boundaries, built vast numbers of churches, in order to include the entire population within its pale and extinguish dissent. But it asked new and additional endowments for those places of worship, which it had multiplied with incredible celerity. This impolitic and impertinent demand, repeated in many forms, and urged by such fallacious and contradictory arguments, as set at nought all Christian courtesy and all statistical calculation, only increased the vigour of the contest, and ended in the defeat of its own patrons and supporters. The establishment wished also to extend its own freedom, and give its adherents a semblance of that liberty which dissenters enjoyed. It proceeded in a very bungling way to modify the law of patronage, and give the people a VETO on the decree of the patron. This resolution was violently opposed by a strong party in the church, but was ultimately adopted. It gave the people only a mere fraction of Christian privilege, but it was hoped they would be content with the boon. The courts of law, however, found that even this trivial alteration was beyond the power of the church. It had no right of itself to violate or modify any article of that contract into which it had entered with the state, as the condition of receiving the pay of the government. The liberal party in the Church of Scotland became restive under its disappointments, and at length adopted the better resolution of quitting its connection with the civil power, and of throwing itself on the liberality of its own adherents. A free church was formed, and the men who were foremost in their direful denunciation of the voluntary principle, are now luxuriating in its copious liberality, and exemplifying beyond all belief and anticipation its marvellous efficacy and scriptural warrant. 'Surely the wrath of man shall praise thee.' The existence of a Free Church in Scotland, while it is one of the wise operations of a gracious and overruling Providence, is, so far as human instrumentality is concerned, to be traced in a great measure to the excitement of the 'voluntary controversy.' Dr. Heugh rejoiced in such an issue; his sympathies were all with his former antagonists, when he beheld them break their bonds.



No one hailed the recent secession with more eagerness and joy, or wished it more success. His own appearances upon the platform on behalf of ecclesiastical freedom, had been for years very numerous; his speeches delivered in various parts of the country would fill a volume. In scenes of great provocation, he did not lose his equanimity, and while his eye kindled and his voice thrilled in denouncing injustice, and exposing malicious sophistry, he never indulged in coarse vituperation, or unworthy invective. He called things, indeed, by their right name. He scorned all compromise, all effort to hold truth in abeyance, lest men should take offence, but he endeavoured to 'speak the truth in love;' to 'rebuke with meekness,' and to exhibit a candid and courteous demeanour toward the most violent and irritating of his opponents. His addresses, on such occasions as those now referred to, were always impressive—some of them exciting the audience to unbounded enthusiasm. The general character of his public speaking, on these and similar occasions, is well described by a writer in 'Hogg's Weekly Instructor.'\*

'We have always been struck by two features, or rather effects, of Dr. Heugh's pulpit and platform speaking, which show its high excellence. First, It was admired by all classes of hearers. Other speakers have their peculiar excellencies, which render them great favourites with particular classes, but it was impossible to say what class listened to Dr. Heugh with deepest interest and admiration. He was a universal favourite as a public speaker. We have seen a meeting composed of all classes become quiet, attentive, enthusiastic, as he proceeded with his address, which had been before impatient and unmanageable; we have never seen an audience become listless and restive under him. It mattered not what the subject was, or what the character of the audience, he was sure to arrest their attention and win their applause. Even when the topic was most trite and trivial, the manner in which he handled it, and the way in which he expressed himself, gave it a peculiar freshness and interest. It might be said of him as was said of Hall, 'he treated common topics without the insipidity of common-place diction.' Second, There was nothing about his speaking to divert attention from the subject, and fix it upon himself. One never thought of the speaker at all in hearing him, every thing was so perfectly natural, simple, and easy. There was nothing to be borne with, or overlooked, or even, in one sense, admired *in him*, and the undivided interest of the hearer was given to *the subject* under consideration; and that which previously seemed intricate and

\* No. 85.

perplexing, became in his hands so plain and obvious, that the hearer wondered how he had not seen it in the same light before.'

Thus the heart of Dr. Heugh responded to every call of humanity and religion. Any plan that gave hope of doing good, he liberally assisted, while very naturally he was anxious that his own 'tribe' should not be the last to 'bring back the king.' He was formed, as Burke says of his son, to be 'a public creature.' In the midst of all this wearing labour, his peculiar elasticity of mind was of invaluable service to him.

'It seemed,' Dr. Harper says, page 14, 'as if his mind needed not to be strung and attuned anew, when passing from the active, and even the controversial, to the more private walks of communion with God. From pleading the rights of Christ's spiritual kingdom against the enactments of human policy;—from pleading the rights of the slave against buyers and sellers, who traffic in his flesh, Dr. Heugh's mind turned, without effort, and with instant alacrity, to such topics of interest as religious revivals, missionary enterprise, congregational home agency, the working of Sabbath schools, the utility of prayer-meetings, or the cultivation of a devotional spirit in the public business of the church. What do we see in this but a tone of mind formed and sustained by divine grace for special service, and for giving us, my brethren, in this self-same matter, another example to admire and to imitate!'

Dr. Heugh's general character was one of harmonious symmetry. In all the domestic relations he displayed exemplary kindness and attachment. Abroad he always maintained the decorum of a christian pastor. His failings—and who has them not—were not striking. Occasionally he could say a smart thing, when he was provoked, or suddenly excited. At times he appeared to some, as if he was conscious of his superior standing and talents. But in all scenes, amidst all classes of society, he exhibited the easy and polished manners of an accomplished gentleman. By a kind of instinctive feeling, he seemed to comprehend, in an instant, where he was, and to know exactly what topics to introduce and how to discuss them. This delicate sense of propriety had in him the correctness, force, and universality of an instinct. His conversational powers were charming, and he knew well how to mingle pleasantries and grave instruction. He had a playful wit, yet generally he set 'a watch on the door of his lips.' The highest integrity marked all his procedure. There was not any thing which he abhorred so much as meanness or duplicity. He was an 'upright man.' Whatever he could do, to oblige another, he willingly undertook and frankly performed. While he loved his own denomination, the arms of his christian charity embraced other sects and parties, holding

the head. Not only was he a faithful pastor, but he was honoured as a useful citizen. The people who reaped the benefit of his ministry have made a provision for his widow unparalleled in the history of the secession church; and the esteem in which he was held by his fellow-townsmen is seen in the fact, that on the day of his funeral a number of gentlemen not connected either with his church or denomination, spontaneously entered into a handsome subscription to erect a spacious monument to his memory.

Dr. Heugh shone in the church courts. He had amazing facility of speech—ease, clearness, and readiness, never forsook him. He possessed also great tact, knew how to seize his opportunity, instantaneously apprehended the most favourable means of overcoming prejudice, disarming hostility, and gaining the object he had in view. Especially did he rise above himself during the late unhappy controversy on the subject of the atonement, which agitated the secession church. His first speech on these topics at the meeting of synod in 1841, was a masterpiece. It fairly brought out the question in its important aspects, clearly exhibited the truth freed from the embarrassment of extreme opinions, indicated the line of argument which the lovers of sound speech must adopt, and prepared the way for those satisfactory and harmonious results which have since delighted the churches. He understood the subject clearly, and expressed himself so lucidly, that all felt immediate acquiescence in his statements. He pursued the same course in all subsequent debates, for his own mind was made up and it never wavered. Indeed, he himself informed the writer of this paper, that from his entrance into the ministry, the views he advocated had always been maintained and preached by him. But he did not experience the immediate blessedness of the peacemaker. Two disappointed men, now no longer in the church, (one of them indeed ignominiously expelled from it) attacked him with a rancour peculiar to themselves, and proverbially associated with the name they bear. Accusations made in ferocious language, and coming from those quarters, are no longer regarded; nay, any gentler treatment from such a source, brings the subject of it into immediate suspicion. During the last illness of him, who in midst of conflicting misunderstandings had always sought ‘peace and ensued it,’ an attempt was made by one of the parties now referred to, to call in question his integrity. The attempt is described at length by Dr. Brown, and is alluded to, more briefly, by Dr. Wardlaw, and branded by him with that reprobation which it fully merited. The church found that Dr. Heugh had been wantonly and maliciously assailed. He died soon after these trials; the Master



‘hid him in his pavilion from the strife of tongues.’ His former enemies, however, continue to blacken his memory by every means in their power. Alas! we must ascribe this malignity to something worse than constitutional infirmity of temper.

The publications of Dr. Heugh were numerous, but the most of them were ephemeral, being generally designed to serve some special occasion. Those occasions were always of public benefit—the cause of religion, of missions, or general benevolence. He preached before the London Missionary Society in London, before one of its auxiliaries in Bradford, and both discourses were published, and extensively read. He published also various lectures on the voluntary principle, lectures to young men in Glasgow, presbyterial addresses, and ordination services. In 1839, at the request of the presbytery, he delivered and published an address on the revival of religion—a paper in which his whole heart goes forth in ardent and prayerful aspiration for the outpouring of the Divine Spirit on the churches. In 1844, we find him as convener of a synod’s committee, issuing a spirited and characteristic ‘Address on the duty of exertion for the support of weak congregations, and for the promotion of Christian missions.’

One of the best of his productions was an excellent tract on Voluntaryism, entitled, ‘Considerations on civil establishments of Religion;’ and it is allowed on all hands to be clear, judicious, and conciliatory. It had an extensive circulation at the time of its first appearance, for it contained views and reasonings which the public mind readily apprehended and applied. He wrote also occasional replies to the manifestoes of the church party—to their high claims of independence, while they yet clung to their connection with the state. One of these was truly a *chef-d’œuvre*—a clever, terse, racy, and effective brochure. During his residence for some months in Geneva, about three years ago, he busied himself in collecting information as to the state and prospects of the continental protestant churches. He delivered a few lectures on the subject when he returned home, and afterwards published them under the title of ‘Notices of the state of Religion in Geneva and Belgium.’\* These ‘notices’ are principally based on documentary evidence. They are gathered neither from general gossip, nor partial survey; but rest for their chief authority on the works of Malan, Gaussen, Vinet, D’Aubigne, and other equally competent witnesses. They are therefore trustworthy in the highest degree, combining the soberness of historical truth with the vivid and felicitous sketching of personal observation. One object of the book is to depict

\* Vide ‘Eclectic Review,’ vol. xxi. 85.

the noxious influence of state connection upon the religion of Geneva—to prove that the freedom and purity of a Christian people are indissolubly associated—that the spiritual institute of the Redeemer needs not for its maintenance or extension, either the foreign encumbrance of national support, or the crushing patronage of civic rank—and that, therefore, the friends of evangelical truth are summoned in the present day to the great work of emancipating the church from secular control—to the achievement of a vast enterprise which has been justly named the ‘Reformation of the Nineteenth Century.’

Dr. Heugh’s last publication related to the discussions in his own church, and was named, ‘Irenicum; an inquiry into the real amount of the differences alleged to exist in the Synod of the United Secession Church, on the Atonement and Doctrines connected with it; Glasgow, 1845.’\* It is not too much to say, that this pamphlet was a principal means under God of restoring confidence and harmony. It breathed a noble spirit—took a calm and impartial view of the subject—introduced admirable quotations from divines of various ages and countries—maintained that the late resolutions of the synod were scriptural in their character, and Calvinistic in their diction—and proved that they involved no departure either in doctrine or phraseology from the system of the great Genevan theologian, the Synod of Dort, the Westminster symbols, and the sermons and ‘acts’ of the first fathers of the Scottish Secession. This tract displays that peculiar combination of talents, which we have ascribed to Dr. Heugh. It is brief without being curt, firm, but not one-sided. Its reasonings are wisely adapted to the ordinary understanding, and run not into profound speculations ‘on the deep things of God.’ Its tone is one of sustained earnestness and practical adaptation. We might style it a business-like production, for it is not the work of a theoriser or polemic, but the effort of a ‘master in Israel,’ who felt it incumbent on him to deal with present realities—to treat his several topics as matters of actual interest and immediate concern, and not to dispute about them as themes of subtle abstraction—of distant and possible collision.

After all, Dr. Heugh has left behind him no literary monument worthy of his name and capabilities. His memory will be associated rather with pastoral success, public-spirited ardour, and denominational attachment and labour. The piety and generosity of the people he so long instructed, the schemes of useful benevolence which he originated and cherished, will be his enduring memorial. His epitaph is engraven ‘on the fleshly

\* Eclectic Review for September, 1845.

tables of the heart.' His constant engagements in pastoral duty occupied so much of his time, that he had little leisure for such prolonged study as is necessary to the creation of any literary or theological work, of enduring excellence or fame. Perhaps he felt that multiplied authorship was not his calling. Yet we hope to see a goodly volume of 'Remains;' for we understand he bestowed peculiar care on an Exposition of the valedictory discourses of our Lord, recorded in the Gospel by John, with a seeming view to ultimate publication. Dr. Heugh might not be called a learned divine, yet he could pass a sagacious judgment on erudite works. He had such learning as qualified him to appreciate sound erudition. He might not resemble the mathematician, who busies himself with abstruse investigation in the transcendental departments of his science,—in ascertaining the higher relations of numbers and forms. He was more like the practical astronomer, who enjoys the fruit of those lofty researches, and solves the problems of his study by the application of principles and laws, which the original discoverer has laid to his hand. One may use the telescope with advantage, without being a discoverer in optics; or navigate a vessel, with the compass and quadrant, though he have no profound knowledge of the motion and orbits of the heavenly bodies. Yet Dr. Heugh had a very correct and extensive knowledge of the Greek Testament. In later years he gave greatly more than usual attention to it, and probably knew it better than the majority of those whose business it is to divide the word of truth.

It gives us great pleasure to know that among his papers has been found a diary, stretching back for several years, and containing very full remarks and reflections. That diary reveals the secrets of his character. It abounds in devotional feeling, of which the principal features are, a deep sense of his own unworthiness, a strong faith, and a constant desire for divine guidance and direction. It shows that the loveliness of his character was the result of prayerful discipline, and self-controul, and that without any ostentatious profession of superior Christian attainment, his thoughts, motives, and actions, were habitually influenced by powerful religious principle. 'The law of the Lord was in his mouth, in his lips was no guile, he walked with God in equity and truth, and turned many from iniquity.' We might, in conclusion, and in corroboration of our remarks, adduce the testimony of one who knew the object of our sketch well, and who has briefly recorded his sentiments of affection and esteem for his deceased friend, in a sermon preached on occasion of Dr. Heugh's death. We refer to Dr. Wardlaw, the



ornament of another denomination ; but we can only refer our readers to the discourse itself.

We have not left ourselves much room to speak of the funeral discourses, portions of which we have already quoted. They are all of them worthy of the mournful occasion on which they were delivered—solemn, tender, affecting and practical. They contain no fulsome eulogy, no wailings of a hired minstrelsy. While they sketch the likeness of the deceased, they abound especially in pathetic warning and admonition to the living. The brief address delivered on the day of interment, in Montrose Street Secession Church, by Dr. Harper, is altogether in the spirit of its first sentence, ‘Our minds are this day possessed with a sense of bereavement.’ Its tone was quite in unison with the emotions of weeping hundreds to whom it was delivered. ‘And now my friends,’ he concludes, ‘arise, let us go hence.’ The remains of him whom we love are about to be conveyed to their resting-place. In following his mortal part let us remember the immortal: ‘he is not dead but sleepeth.’ As we look into the open grave and commit dust to dust, let us remember that we must follow ; and, in sadly musing on the image of the departed—the eye once beaming with intelligence, now closed in darkness—those eloquent lips that taught so wisely, now to speak no more—that countenance of noble frankness and of smiling benevolence, now pale in death—let us rejoice in the assurance that, if we be joint-heirs with him in the hope of the gospel, we shall more than recover what we have lost:—we shall see him again, and ‘shall be ever with the Lord.’ ‘Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours ; and their works do follow them.’ ”

The funeral sermons are by Dr. Taylor, the successor of Dr. Heugh, and for a few months his colleague, Dr. Brown of Edinburgh, and Dr. Wardlaw of Glasgow. Dr. Taylor’s sermon is from Rev. xiv. 13, ‘Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.’ His sermon resembles in no small degree, the compositions of his lamented colleague. It is also rich in scriptural allusion and gemmed with appropriate scriptural quotation. Dr. Brown’s discourse is from 1 Thess. iv. 13, ‘I would not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep.’ The sermon is worthy of Dr. Brown’s reputation—replete with massive thoughts, striking remarks, and sound scriptural interpretation. Intellect, learning, and piety, give it a triune richness of colouring. Dr. Wardlaw preached on the evening of the same sabbath from 2 Cor. v. 4, ‘Not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality may

be swallowed up of life.' In some parts of the discourse, the train of thought is very similar to that of Dr. Brown, but as Dr. Wardlaw justly observes, such coincidences 'confirm and impress the sentiments.' All the accomplishments of Dr. Wardlaw shine in this sermon—beautiful thought in elegant diction—apples of gold in framework of silver. Dr. Brown's discourse contains also a biography of Dr. Heugh, with a few related papers in the form of a brief appendix.

The great work of God in this world does not pause, though its instruments are frequently and unexpectedly removed. Ere Aaron died, Eleazar was invested with the pontifical robes. The exalted Governor still sits upon his throne, guiding and controlling all events. His cause by an unbroken succession of means and agents, is ever approaching its triumphant destiny. While it is the urgent duty of 'them that are alive and remain,' to be forward and unwearied in the work of 'Him who hath called them,' especially are they summoned to give themselves to that peculiar labour which may be required by the pressing exigencies of their own age and period.

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Art. VI.—*Switzerland and the Swiss Churches; being Notes of a short Tour, and Notices of the principal Religious Bodies in that Country.* By William Lindsay Alexander, D.D., F.S.A.S. Glasgow: James Maclehose.

SWITZERLAND has been visited by so many of our countrymen, as to have become one of the best known spots in Europe. It has been described with a minuteness and repetition exceeding what has been expended on some of the most beautiful parts of our own country; and its mountains and vallies—its cascades and glaciers—its regions of eternal snow and spots of luxuriant verdure, are in consequence familiar to us all. Those of us who have been doomed to stay at home, have listened so repeatedly to the tale of the Swiss traveller, that we know the features of the country, the character of its inhabitants, and the emotions awakened by its scenery, almost as well as if our time had been spent amidst the marvels which omnipotence has so liberally spread over that land. The repetition is at length becoming wearisome. Men recoil from a book of Swiss travel as a bore, and begin to wonder what can have prompted another tourist to repeat the thrice told tale. Superior faculties and powers of observation exceeding what are generally possessed, are therefore needed to attract attention to such a work, or to reward the labour involved in its perusal.

We never indeed tire of listening to the *viva voce* descriptions of our friends. There is a freshness, a life, a speciality in their adventures. A thousand trifling circumstances are noted which constituted the individuality of their journey. We enter into their privations, tremble with them on the edge of some vast precipice, or breathe silently and slow as our littleness is realized amidst the magnificence of the scenes they describe. The voice, the countenance, the eye of the narrator contribute greatly to all this, and hence the sustained interest and the more powerful impression which is made. Now, it is impossible to secure these in the written sketch. Of its kind, it may be admirable; but it wants the animation and soul by which the heart is most deeply moved; and after a time, therefore, we grow weary with the narrative, and crave other and less familiar topics. And yet there is a vast field open; and we should like to have before us *in extenso*, the thoughts, deep, meditative, and spiritual, with which an intellect after the order of Shakspeare or Milton would be occupied amidst such scenes. It would be a wondrous and an instructive revelation,—a disclosure of the profounder sympathies of which our nature is susceptible. The forms, the outward garb assumed by nature, would to such a spectator be but the impersonation of vast powers, in the contemplation of which it would pass beyond the sensual, and enter into fellowship with what is spiritual and imperishable. A world impassable to grosser mortals would stand revealed to such, in which the forms of truth would be luminous, and its oracles be distinctly heard. 'After some time,' says John Foster, when noting the operations of his mind in reference to external objects, 'a larger enginery begins to work; I feel more than a simple perception of objects; they become environed with an atmosphere, and shed forth an emanation. They come accompanied with trains of images, moral analogies, and a wide, diffused, vitalized, and indefinable kind of sentimentalism. The mere reflection of such objects—the shaded lustre with which they would be disclosed, would go far to enlarge the boundaries of human knowledge, and to deepen our convictions of the powers of intellect and the majesty of truth.\*

Dr. Alexander makes no pretensions to such an achievement in the small volume before us. His original intention was to treat only of the religious state of Switzerland, and the addition subsequently made, is executed in a manner creditable to his judgment, and subservient to his primary design. 'Let not the reader,' he remarks, 'look here for a display of research, or for curious disquisition. To attempt such has not

\* Life, vol. i. p. 178.



been my ambition. If the reader is good-natured enough to pardon an author who presumes to address the public as he might the domestic circle, and if he be not too busy or too severe to tolerate a little gossip, I humbly offer these Notes to his notice. For those of a sterner temperament, I fear there is not much in this part of the volume to which I can invite their attention.'

The first six, and the twelfth chapters, are occupied with the author's personal adventures, including notices, more or less extended, of the institutions, pastors, and churches of the cantons visited. Dr. Alexander writes as a Christian man should do, not parading his religion, but obviously influenced by it; carrying with him a different standard from most tourists, and therefore dissenting from many of the judgments which they have pronounced. We never lose sight of what he is, and yet are rarely reminded by express statement of the obligation which he feels. This is just as it should be, avoiding equally, and with excellent judgment, the sermonic on the one hand, and the frivolous and semi-worldly on the other. Religious men frequently err on this point, and by their error, defeat themselves. They are too concerned to make their religion appear, and there is therefore a stiffness, a formality, a professional cast in it, which repels rather than attracts. It wears the aspect of something distinct and separate from their general demeanour, instead of being regarded as an element pervading and leavening the whole.

Our author's route lay through Strasburg, Basle, Neufchatel, Lausanne, Geneva, Berne, and Belgium, and his observations are uniformly deserving of respectful attention. Without affecting what is original or profound, they are distinguished by good sense, a sound judgment, and a ready appreciation of the beautiful and sublime in natural scenery, and of whatever is estimable in national character. We have accompanied him with pleasure, and assure our readers both of entertainment and of instruction, in the perusal of his volume. On landing at Geneva an amusing illustration of American character was elicited by the appearance of gens d'armes, demanding the passports of the travellers.

'To many,' says Dr. Alexander, 'this seemed rather an unexpected demand, and excited some grumbling and indignation. Among the rest, I could not but be amused with a worthy American, whose passport was at the bottom of his trunk, and who declared he had buried it there on leaving France, never imagining that in republican Switzerland such a thing would be required. As he did not speak French, he apparently at first was at a loss to comprehend what was wanted, and

when at length it was made plain that he could not land until he had produced his passport, he received the intelligence with a transport of virtuous indignation, for which his country ought to decree him a triumph on his return. 'Well! I guess I'll take a note of that,' he exclaimed, 'call *this* a republic, when they set two fellows with swords to demand passports from strangers!' And in huge dudgeon he delved into the recesses of his trunk for his passport, which he handed to the officer with an air that plainly said, "You are a disgrace to the name of 'free institutions;' but wait till I get to *our* country, and I shall expose you."—pp. 46, 47.

At the time of his arrival, the Société Helvétique des Sciences Naturelles was holding its annual session in the city, and our traveller availed himself, of course, of the opportunity of making the acquaintance of its members. His account is not highly flattering, though, in justice to the Swiss savans, it must be remembered that he was present only at their closing meeting. His description of a *fete* given by Mrs. Marcet, the author of the well known 'Conversations,' throws light on the social habits of the people, and will be read with interest by all who have benefited by that lady's numerous publications. Our author was invited to be present on the occasion, and tells us:

'A steamer was placed at the disposal of those members of the society who had been invited to this entertainment, by the municipality of Geneva, and to my surprise I found that after all that had passed, there was still to be more eating and drinking during our sail. For my own part, I preferred the fresh air and the exquisite scenery, and therefore remained upon deck. A more delicious evening I can hardly conceive. Not a cloud specked the sky, and though the sun had been powerful during the day, a gentle breeze just curling the surface of the lake sufficed agreeably to cool the atmosphere. On the banks of the lake every thing wore its most lovely aspect, refreshed by the rains of the preceding day, and radiant with the sunshine of the present. On our left, as we sailed up the lake, the land was too distant for the eye to dwell upon its scenery, but on the right we kept so near the shore that every object, almost, was clearly visible. Here the eye ranged over a continual succession of elegant chateaux, with their smooth lawns, and flower gardens sloping to the margin of the lake; beyond lay the fields where husbandry reigned, with its frugal purposes and busy labours; and still further in the remote distance were seen the giant forms of the Alps, towering upwards as if in scorn of those regions which man had mastered and laboured,—cold, stern, and commanding,—the haughty, yet august aristocracy of nature.

'The scene to me was surpassingly attractive, but I confess I was a little mortified to find that in the majority of the company it appeared to excite no notice. Perhaps this was partly the effect of familiarity, but I suspect that it was the result principally of deficiency of sus-

ceptibility. The French Swiss are very far from being an imaginative people; and of all classes of men, perhaps, the students of natural science are, generally speaking, the least given to admire the beauties of nature.

'The Chateau of Malagny is about three-quarters of a mile from the margin of the lake. The road up to it lies through pleasant green lanes, bordered by hedge-rows, in which a number of wild flowers hang out their graceful forms. It then enters the gate; after which it continues through a winding avenue, adorned on either side by noble trees. At the house we were received by Mrs. Marcet and her son, who is a professor in the college at Geneva. I was surprised and delighted to see the excellent lady whose ingenious and attractive 'Conversations' I had conned as my first lesson in philosophy, so many years before, still retaining so much of almost youthful vigour. Far from being, as I had somehow unconsciously depicted her, a lady of severe and pedagogic aspect; I found in her that delightful combination of grace and dignity, vivacity and intelligence, which throws such an inexpressible charm over the manners and conversation of the softer sex, wherever it is possessed. Amid the large and intellectual company which she had that evening assembled around her, the lively hearted and intelligent hostess moved as the presiding genius of the whole.

'So long as the light continued, the chief part of the company enjoyed themselves in strolling through the beautiful grounds around the house, which were thrown open for this purpose. The scene here presented a gay and inspiring aspect. Here was a group of sage savans gathered under an umbrageous chestnut tree, discussing some weighty point which had been mooted, but not fully settled at their meeting; or suggesting to each other topics of inquiry and speculation to be pursued in their respective spheres when they had separated. Close by was a brilliant circle of ladies in elegant evening costumes, maintaining with some of the younger and more courtly of the philosophers the keen encounter of wit and badinage, and casting, ever and anon, curious and quizzical glances at the staid and somewhat uncouth figures which occasionally moved heavily past them with uneasy and half averted look, as if men who dwelt amidst glaciers and listened to the roar of avalanches had entered on forbidden ground, when they presumed to tread the verge of the enchanted circle where so much beauty and gaiety reigned. Through openings in the trees and shrubbery, parties might be seen winding their way in every direction, and giving continual life and variety to the picture; while beyond lay the grand expanse of the lake, over which the setting sun was casting his parting rays from behind the Jura. Nearer the house an excellent band of performers filled the air with music; whilst a busy throng of servants was engaged in dispensing the plentiful refreshments which the hospitality of our entertainer had provided,—not certainly, the least animated part of the scene.

'At nine o'clock a gun, fired from the steamer, summoned us to



re-embark. A crowd of peasants with lighted torches conducted us through the lanes, which were now completely dark, and supplied us with light sufficient to enable us to reach the vessel in safety. Another gun fired, and was succeeded by the bump of the engine and the splashing of the wheels, which told that we were again in motion. At this moment the view of the shore was striking. At some distance was the chateau still brilliantly lighted up; coloured lamps were hung upon many of the trees on the lawn and in the avenue; along the shore was a row of flambeau casting their red glaring light forward upon the water, and backward upon the groups of peasantry and the masses of foliage; and over the whole stretched the deep blue curtain of a cloudless sky studded with stars.'—pp. 50—53.

The principal interest of the volume, however, is derived from the light which it throws on the religious condition and prospects of the Swiss Cantons. Dr. Alexander has evidently been at considerable pains to collect information on these points; and the results of his inquiries, if they have not exhausted the subject, are given with a lucidity and calm judgment which must greatly aid the inquirer. We cannot pretend to follow the whole course of his remarks. It will consist better with our limits to select one or two of the numerous topics he discusses, in doing which, we are mainly concerned to put our readers into possession of the information he has collected.

Few places possess more historical interest to the ecclesiastical student than Geneva. As the scene of Calvin's labours, whence flowed to other parts of Europe, the theological system and ecclesiastical polity of that distinguished reformer, it has always been regarded with deep interest, and its history been traced with more than ordinary solicitude. The personal character of Calvin, the unbounded influence he exerted over the fortunes of Geneva, his wondrous intellect, his compact and fearless energies, the supremacy he obtained over his contemporaries, and the extent to which his views were propagated, have all contributed to fix on him and on the scene of his labours, the special attention of the protestant church. We are not amongst his worshippers, but are free to admit the existence of grievous defects, both in his character and in his views. He was a man of his own age; one of its master-spirits, it is true, but still identified with it in the judaical temper with which he legislated for the church, and frowned down religious liberty. With an intellect more penetrating, and a heart less susceptible of fear than his compeers, he mistook the apparently logical precision of his theology, for the simplicity of scripture truth: and the minuteness and severity of his ecclesiastical platform for a faithful adherence to apostolic precedent.

In meeting the exigencies of the hour, he sacrificed the free play and generous ardour of the spiritual life; and his polity has consequently survived,—a dead and powerless thing, concealing under the semblance of life, religious desolation and priestly intolerance. But while free to admit all this, we yet claim for Calvin no small tribute of admiration and gratitude. He was a burning and a shining light; and if his views were not always sound, nor his spirit sympathetic with the temper of his Lord, we need only remember the limitation of human faculties, and the distorting influences amid which he was reared. Let due allowance be made for these, and the reformer of Geneva will be placed, by a grateful posterity, amongst the noblest and most useful of an illustrious band. The general aspect of his ecclesiastical polity is ably sketched by our author in the following passage:—

‘It is well known that the church of Geneva was, by the united labours of Farel and Calvin, assisted by those whom they had attached to their school, placed upon a basis of rigid orthodoxy, and supplied with all that appeared necessary to maintain that basis inviolate. A Confession of Faith, a Catechism, a Liturgy, and a Polity were all carefully prepared in accordance with the views divulged in the writings of Calvin; and never, we may say, was church so elaborately nursed into orthodoxy, and drilled into order, as was this.

‘Experience, however, has shown, that when too much is done for a church, the result is seldom beneficial. The safety and wholesome action of such institutions depends far more on an influence operating from within, than upon artificial appliances and contrivances put upon them from without. If there be *life* in the church itself, and if that life be guided by *light*, the church will, of its own accord, grow into that form which is best adapted to its peculiar circumstances and aims. It is with churches as with children: give them proper freedom and wholesome food, and they will develop themselves in graceful and healthy forms; but if you try to force them into a particular shape, elongating this feature and compressing that, shutting them up in confined apartments, checking with a frown every natural movement, and subjecting them to stiff and artificial constraints, the result will certainly be an unhealthy constitution, an unhappy temperament, and a short and cheerless life.

‘There can be no doubt that the church of Geneva suffered deeply from the over-anxious care of its founders, and their determination to leave nothing to be desired or done by the church itself. According to their scheme, every Genevese who should afterwards be born, was to find a complete ecclesiastical system ready made and fitted for his reception, without any care or any choice of his own. They acted as if they repudiated the idea of religion being purely a *personal* thing, implying knowledge and conviction on the part of the individual professing it; with them it was supremely a *national* thing—a matter of law—an element in the constitution under which a man

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was brought by the mere accident of his birth. The church was with them not so much a religious as a political institution, of which the magistracy of the canton were the directors and the lords. Hence they placed the church entirely under the power of the civil magistrate, and called upon him to use that power to preserve the order and well-being of the church. They invoked his aid also in order to prevent any departure from its communion or its standards. With them secession was revolt; to believe otherwise than as Calvin taught, a civil offence to be punished by civil penalties. They had no idea of allowing men to say that they did not understand Calvin's doctrine, and therefore could not profess it, or that they did not believe it, and therefore would not profess it. Their language was, 'Do this and live,' and if men would not hear, they had little scruple in saying, 'Then let them die.'—pp. 154—156.

The natural effect of this error is seen in the present state of Geneva. Religion has withered and died out. Its forms are perpetuated, but its spirit is gone. Its temples yet stand, but there is no fire on their altars. Strange names and strange memories are familiar to the people who once regarded Calvin as the apostle of their God. *Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur cum illis*, is the motto now inscribed on all which the traveller beholds. One extreme has generated another, and he who was formerly almost worshipped as a God, is now forgotten or contemned by the people for whom he laboured. The unnatural restraint imposed by his system, has led the public mind of Geneva through the several stages, of which infidelity to religion, and ingratitude to his memory, are the appropriate termination.

'Time was,' says Dr. Alexander, and there is a melancholy truth in his remarks, 'when a christian stranger visiting Geneva, could write to his friend thus: 'In my heart I could have wished, yea, and cannot cease to wish, that it might please God to guide and conduct yourself to this place, where, I neither fear nor ashamed to say, is the most perfect school of Christ that ever was in the earth since the days of the apostles. In other places I confess Christ to be truly preached; but manners and religion so sincerely reformed I have not yet seen in any other place beside.' What Christian could write so of Geneva now? Nay, who but is constrained to say, 'How is the gold become dim! how is the most fine gold changed!'

'When Calvin died, the whole city of Geneva was filled for a day and a night, Beza tells us, with lamentation. 'The State,' says he, 'sought in vain its wisest citizen, the church deplored the decease of its faithful pastor, the school wept the loss of such a teacher, all, in fine, lamented, as deprived of a common parent, under God, and consoler. Many of the citizens sought to look upon his dead body, because they could not be torn from him even when dead.' When one remembers the services rendered by Calvin to Geneva, both

politically and spiritually, such lamentation cannot be regarded as excessive. Subsequent generations, however, have taken care that if at this time too much honour was shown to the dead, an ample compensation should be made for it, by the utter oblivion or hatred into which the memory of Calvin has been allowed to pass. In Geneva this once honoured name is no longer a household word. In the pulpits of Geneva, (with a few exceptions,) the doctrines of Calvin are referred to only to be repudiated and scorned. No memorial marks the ground where his dust reposes, and which friendship fondly congratulated on receiving such a guest, when his remains were committed to it. No monument to his memory betokens the gratitude and admiration of any of those successive generations which have reaped the advantage of his toils, his sufferings, and his virtues. The veneration of Geneva has passed to other altars than those at which Calvin ministered, and has been offered to the priests of a very different faith from his. She has no prouder recollection now than that it was near her walls that the poor shrivelled, selfish, sneering, mocking, and unhappy wit, sought repose, when disappointed and detested he fled from courts and cities, to spend an undignified old age at Ferney. And when she would show her veneration for the dead, it is the sensual and polluting author of the *Nouvelle Heloise*, to whom she consecrates an island, and erects a statue.'—pp. 60—62.

The same reaction of the temporal against the spiritual, which is visible in other parts of protestant Europe, has taken place in Switzerland. The despotism of Rome has been overthrown by another form of tyranny, distinct in its outward aspect, yet alike pernicious in its influence. Such is the ordinary course of human affairs. One evil is corrected by another. Present relief is effected by questionable means; existing wrongs are redressed, and unlawful power smitten to the ground, by an authority which soon usurps its place and repeats its fearful tragedy. For many centuries the spiritual power was omnipotent throughout Europe. The Pontiff ruled the Emperor. Gregory placed his foot on Henry, and the Roman See constituted the central force which determined the policy of every cabinet in Europe. This was felt to be a grievous wrong, but the ignorance and superstition which prevailed, rendered fertile, for a time, every effort at resistance. At length the day of retribution came. It had been long dawning; but when it did break upon the nations, princes and nobles took advantage of its enthusiasm, to establish, on the overthrow of their rival, their own supremacy. From being a dictator the Church became a slave, Erastian in its policy, and most supple and unscrupulous in its obedience. The personal qualities of some of the reformers, aided by the circumstances of their position, enabled them for a time to stave off this result, but the



tendency of the new order of things was too powerful to be permanently resisted. A change had come over mankind, and all classes and degrees of men were affected by it. Calvin was one of those who maintained the supremacy of the spiritual power; and his ecclesiastical policy seemed admirably adapted to insure its continued maintenance. But a stronger than he was at work; and the compact, severe, inexorable system he bequeathed to the Genevese has gradually become a dead letter; the mere form of spiritual freedom, beneath which the civil power has firmly established itself. In various parts of Switzerland the process has now been completed, of which an illustration is furnished in the recent history of the Canton of Vaud. Referring to the Vaudoise Church, Dr. Alexander says:—

‘Such was the state of things up to 1839, when the established church of Vaud was called to pass through an ordeal of which she has not yet exhausted all the consequences. In that year a new arrangement was entered into between the church and the state, in pursuance of a plan suggested by certain commissioners, who, in 1831, had been appointed to consider the subject of ecclesiastical affairs in the canton. This arrangement was based upon the principle that the church, as by law established, is purely an instrument of the state, and must consequently, in every thing, be under the control of the state. Proceeding upon this principle, the state assumed the right not only to control all the actions of the church, but also to prescribe its doctrines, and, if need be, to supersede its ritual. Nor did the state content itself with merely *assuming* these powers; it proceeded in certain very material points to use them, especially by abolishing the rule which imposed upon every clergyman the signing of the Helvetic Confession, an act which virtually left the Vaudoise Church without any authoritative standard of doctrine or discipline. It is astonishing and deplorable, that any men of honour, intelligence, and piety should have been found willing to submit to such degrading terms as those dictated to the National Clergy of Vaud; but, however humiliating, the fact must be stated, that whilst the mass of the pious laity deserted a church which had been thus enslaved, only a very few of the clergy were found manly enough to follow their example. Whatever may have been the reasons by which the others were induced to remain—and with many of them I have no doubt these were of an honourable kind—there can be but one opinion now of the unhappy consequences of this resolution. By it they consented to sacrifice principle to expediency, and sowed the seeds of that bitter fruit which since they have been compelled to eat. Had they vigorously resisted this first systematic attempt to enslave their church, they might have done so with success, and would at least have secured for themselves honour; but having once agreed to receive such ignominious chains, they have enjoyed little popular sympathy in their subsequent impatient endurance of them; and in their ultimate

revolt from under them have excited little popular enthusiasm, approbation, or support.

‘For a season, the government appears to have been satisfied with the submission of the clergy to the new arrangement; at least it does not appear that any annoyance was given by the state to the clergy, so long as the party by which this new arrangement had been effected retained the reins of government. In the early part, however, of last year (1845) this party was driven from power, and was succeeded by one of a still more popular character; and with this the clergy, ere many months had elapsed, came into serious and determined collision. The result, as is well known, has been a disruption of the Cantonal Church of Vaud.’

The result of the contest has been that one hundred and sixty of the pastors resigned their livings, and seceded from the national church, of whom about forty speedily repented of the step they had taken, and returned to their parishes. This movement, however, has had little effect on the people. The secession has been purely *clerical*, and there are not wanting circumstances which sufficiently account for its want of popular favour. To those who are disposed to investigate a subject, which on many accounts is highly instructive, we recommend an attentive perusal of our author’s intelligent and dispassionate examination.

Of the varieties observable amongst the protestant churches of the cantons, Dr. Alexander remarks:—

‘The Cantons of Basle, Berne, Vaud, Neufchatel, and Geneva, have been and are the main strongholds of Protestantism in Switzerland. In the first two we have Protestantism in its older forms, though not always with its ancient spirit; in the others we have it under a more modern and accommodating aspect. The difference of race, doubtless, aided in some instances, perhaps, by differences of government, has here had its influence: the German and aristocratic Cantons have abode by old forms, usages, and habits; the French Cantons, and especially those of them which have been under republican influence, have exhibited a greater promptitude to assume new modes of thought and adopt new forms of action in religious matters.

‘There is, as just hinted, no Swiss national church; but in each Canton that formula of doctrine and of order which has seemed best to the ruling powers, has been established by public sanction. In respect of doctrine there is no great difference, so far as creeds go, between the Cantonal churches, almost all of them holding professedly by the ancient Helvetic confession; and in point of order they are more or less strictly conformed to the Presbyterian model, though in some cases with a slight infusion of the Episcopal element, and in others, with certain leanings to the Congregational platform. Thus, as respects the appointment of the ministers, in some Cantons the choice rests exclusively with the people, who have power to

appoint and power to remove, independent of any superior control; in other Cantons the government nominates the clergy, and the people have not even a veto upon the appointment; in other cases the people send up a list to the government with whom the final appointment rests; in some cases a right of interference belongs to the body of clergy already in office; and in one case, that of Neufchatel, the clerical body absorb the entire power, subject only to the supervision of the King of Prussia, who never interferes with their movements. For the most part the Presbyterial parity is preserved amongst the clergy—the office of *Doyen*, which is the highest rank among them, being simply that of *primus inter pares*, and lasting but for one year at a time in the case of each occupant. In the Canton of Basle, however, some vestiges of the Episcopal subordination are retained, the first minister of the Minster church in the city of Basle holding a certain official pre-eminence amongst his brethren, and his colleague, the second minister, bearing the title of archidiaconus, or archdeacon. The tenure by which the ministers hold their parishes is also very different in different Cantons, some being elected for life or fault, others for a term of years, and others from week to week. In fine, the mode in which the clergy are supported varies in different Cantons; in some the government provides the entire salary of the minister, whilst in others the government supplies only a part, and in some cases but a very small part, and the rest is made up by fees, or from the voluntary offerings of the people.

'These Cantonal churches stand, for the most part, in a relation of very great subjection to the state, their constitution in this respect being thoroughly Erastian. The degree of subjection is not exactly the same for all, but in none of the Cantons does the church enjoy any adequate measure of liberty. Perhaps the most free is the church of Neufchatel, and the least free that of Berne. In the latter, not even the slightest deviation from the prescribed rule of acting is allowed, unless notice be given to the 'Educational Council,' with which rests absolute power over the clergy and the church. It may perhaps be taken as a tolerably significant indication of the state of feeling in this Canton, that ecclesiastical affairs should be regarded as forming merely a department of the *educational* interests of the community.'—pp. 149—151.

An interesting sketch is supplied of the Independent and other dissenting churches, which are now planted throughout several of the cantons; the history of which strikingly harmonizes with that of similar societies in our own country. Happily for our Swiss brethren, the period of their troubles has been much briefer than that of our fathers. The indignant voice of Europe has been uttered on their behalf. Public sentiment has advanced since the days of the Stuarts; and the suffering confessors of Switzerland have, in consequence, been spared the protracted persecutions to which the puritans and non-conformists of England were exposed. The following brief account, however, of



the trial of M. Charles Rochat, furnished by the late Baron de Stael, shews what iniquities were recently practised:—

‘ ‘ This trial took place at Vevay, amid the most beautiful scenery in the world, in a country whose richness and beauty might have seemed such as to inspire no other feelings in the heart than those of gratitude towards God, and benevolence towards man.

‘ ‘ An accusation was laid against M. Rochat to the effect that he had held at his house an unlawful religious assembly. [*How strangely this combination of words sounds!*] The obscure name of the person who informed against him we have not heard; but the baseness of his language and manners betrays itself in every line of his accusation. On a complaint like this, an agent of police went to the house of M. Rochat, and searched it, but without finding any one: as he was retiring, Mr. R. himself conducted him to a room on the second floor, where he found five persons assembled, viz., the wife of Mr. R., one of their friends, with two of his sisters, and a young person a stranger to the family. These five individuals were seated round a table, on which lay an open book; it was the Bible, of which Mr. R. was about to read and explain a chapter. Here was the substance of the charge.

‘ ‘ The trial begins; M. Rochat’s indictment is read; a multitude of witnesses are summoned and heard; they are examined and cross-examined; the testimony of all agrees; the discussions of the counsel add nothing to, and take nothing from, the declaration of the agent of police; the charge remains as it was, neither lessened nor aggravated. This remains certain, that *in his own house, and in the presence of his wife and four friends, M. Rochat had read and explained a chapter of scripture*, and then had prayed to God for a blessing on what had been said.

‘ ‘ Such is his crime in its whole length and breadth; we have kept back nothing. Here certainly was most blameworthy and dangerous conduct! To leave this unpunished would compromise all social order! Hence the public prosecutor pleaded, that M. Rochat might be confined for a year to his commune. But in the eyes of the magistrates this was not enough; such chastisement was not proportioned to the offence; they inflicted unhesitatingly the maximum punishment, and M. Rochat was condemned to be banished for three years!!’—p. 245.

We thank Dr. Alexander for the pleasure his volume has afforded us, and for the information we have derived from it. Our readers will do well to procure it for themselves, and such of them as do so will regret neither its cost nor the time expended in its perusal.

Art. VII.—*History of the Counter-Revolution in England for the Re-establishment of Popery under Charles II. and James II.* By Armand Carrel. *History of the Reign of James II.* By the Right Hon. Charles James Fox. London: David Bogue.

THIS volume belongs to *Bogue's European Library*, and is inferior to none of its predecessors in value or interest. To ourselves it exceeds most of them, and we shall be glad if our notice of it induce our readers, and especially such as are rising into life, to render themselves more familiar with the period to which it refers. It contains two works, of the latter of which it is not our present intention to speak. Fox's *History of James II.* is well known. It has been before the public for several years, and although far from realizing the expectations which were founded on the parliamentary reputation of its author, must always occupy a respectable rank in our historical literature. The qualities of Mr. Fox's mind, and the habits of his life, were not adapted to insure success in the line of authorship. The senate was his proper arena, the living voice the instrument with which he wrought his wonders. Yet there are passages in his history which no Englishman will be willing to forget, and the effect of the whole is powerfully conducive to a right appreciation of the actors and events of this most memorable period. 'We feel,' says an able and independent critic, 'how delightful it is to go through an important and confused scene in the company of such an illuminating mind, and how easily we could surrender ourselves to an almost implicit reliance on its judgments.\*' The reprint of this history, contained in the present volume, is restricted to Mr. Fox's own composition, and does not therefore contain Lord Holland's Introduction, or the extended Appendix, which were included in the quarto edition of 1808.

The work of Armand Carrel is new to the English public, and we purpose, therefore, dwelling on it more at length. The period to which it refers is one of the most disgraceful, yet at the same time most instructive, in our history. It should be closely studied by all who wish to understand our national character, or to appreciate the cost at which our liberties have been secured. Its opening scenes are unparalleled in our annals, and cannot be understood without an intimate knowledge of what preceded them. We must be familiar with the times of the Commonwealth and of the Protectorate, in order to comprehend those of the Restoration. The great men of the Long Parliament were before their age. They were born out of due time. Their

\* Foster's Contributions, vol. i. p. 152.

views were larger, their patriotism was of a higher order than comported with their generation. Their force of intellect and earnestness of purpose carried for a time their object, and produced an effect which could not, however, be sustained. Men felt their power, and, for a season, superstition, intolerance, and tyranny, quailed before them. But the spirit of their age was not equal to their achievements. They could not raise their contemporaries to their own high standard, and were compelled, in the issue, to lean on the questionable power of the sword for the preservation of public liberty. The national will was, therefore, restrained. An artificial and unhealthy character was formed. What was seen did not harmonize with what was thought. Englishmen yet loved the baubles, the glitter, the parade of a court. The austerity of puritanism effaced the memory of its noble deeds, whilst the licence and the glitter which the exiled Stuarts promised, made the nation sigh for the restoration of monarchy. That restoration at length came, and the land groaned beneath the irreligion, debauchery, and despotism which prevailed. Produced by the treachery of Monk, the stolid blindness of the Presbyterians, the heroic but impracticable republicanism of Vane, and the legislative incapacity of Desborough, Fleetwood, and Lambert, it proved worse than an Egyptian plague. It was a long night, black and full of terrors, and when, at length, the day dawned, it was found that the standard of public virtue had been lowered, and the spirit of English liberty lay fettered and helpless at the foot of a corrupt aristocracy. We cannot agree with M. Carrel, that this period has 'been erroneously regarded as a time of degradation.' We believe that it was so: and less of theory, and more of practical truth, than accord with the French character, would have compelled him to do the same. Men of stature were exchanged for dwarfs, patriots for courtiers, and, after a brief interval, the corrupt and feeble *Cabal* were substituted for such men as Eliot, Pym, Hampden, Vane, and Cromwell. English liberty needs no other vindication than the contrast which is furnished between its leaders, and the men by whom monarchy encircled itself.

M. Carrel has prefaced his history with an introductory chapter, in which he traces the progress of popular freedom from the establishment of the Norman dynasty. To a foreigner this chapter supplies a useful epitome, but to our own countrymen its value will be chiefly limited to its earlier portion. It may be read, however, with advantage, though, as a mere outline, it wants the finish and completeness, which the existing state of our historical literature has prepared us to look for. It is specially faulty in its minuter references to the religious element which was so powerfully operative from



the time of the Reformation. This is a point on which foreigners, and especially the French, seem incapable of comprehending us. It is without the circle of their sympathies, and in its earnestness and absorbing power, presents an enigma which they cannot solve. They perpetually misapprehend it, and in consequence, attribute its phenomena to the most questionable causes. Looking at them through the medium of their own views, they assign them to such motives as could alone have produced them amongst themselves, and therefore fall into the most egregious blunders in their estimates of our character and achievements. It needs a firm faith in revelation, a practical acquaintance with its power, a distinct personal recognition of the overwhelming importance of its truth, in order rightly to appreciate the conduct of men, who, whatever their defects, were solemnly in earnest in all matters pertaining to religion. Something of this kind is discernible throughout the pages of M. Carrel, and there are minute inaccuracies in his statements, discreditable to his research. Thus he speaks of Henry VIII. having been 'outstripped by sectaries, who, with bible in hand, demanded *the abolition of episcopacy*,' (p. 11.), whereas, it is well known to every tyro in history that nothing of the sort occurred till the reign of Elizabeth, when Cartwright advocated a presbyterian parity. He speaks, also, of the ecclesiastical dissidents during the reign of Edward VI., as persecuted 'under the general name of Nonconformists,' (p. 11.), a designation unknown to our history until after the Restoration. An inaccuracy of a more serious order occurs on page 31, where a belief in the personal reign of Christ is represented as a distinguishing tenet of the Independents, whose 'absurd ideas' on this point are said to have inspired an unconquerable aversion to royalty. A slight attention to the documentary evidence with which he ought to have been familiar, would have exempted him from so gross a blunder as to confound the Independents with the fifth-monarchy men. But enough of such exceptions. We note them with no unfriendly feeling, and certainly with no desire to disparage the work of M. Carrel. It will bear such criticisms, and is therefore worthy of the labour they involve. We have no disposition, however, to pursue them, and therefore proceed to the more agreeable part of our task.

In two sentences the author has happily expressed the great difficulty with which the popular leaders in the Long Parliament had to contend. They found, he says, 'in the ancient constitution wherewith to overthrow and punish the tyranny of Strafford, but not wherewith to prevent the return of that tyranny. Still attached to royalty, and wishing to preserve episcopacy as its necessary support, they yielded, with regret, to the necessity

of seizing upon all the various powers, the only method, according to their view, of examining, at leisure, which of them could be judiciously left to the crown.' In the case of a more truthful man, this difficulty would not have existed; but Charles had forfeited all title to confidence. His duplicity was notorious, and the remorselessness of his temper had been shewn in the incarceration and death of Sir John Eliot. To the insincerity of his father he added the more active and fearless points of his own character. The hollowness of the king was the true source of his ruin. The men of the parliament could not treat with him as a man whose word was to be believed, and Cromwell and Ireton consented, ultimately, to his trial, when they found him still plotting against their lives. Let this fact be kept in mind, and it goes far to justify the extreme demands against which modern constitutionalists as well as Tory writers are accustomed to protest. In their circumstances, the only safety was so to reduce the king *de facto* as was incompatible with the king *de jure*. The condition of England under the protectorate is thus described, and the picture is not overwrought:—

'Never had England displayed such great resources as under the administration of the handful of obscure citizens who might be regarded as having usurped the state. She paid considerable taxes; supported an army of sixty thousand men, and maintained a powerful fleet. She had seen her fields devastated, her towns ruined, her population devoured by civil war; but since the commencement of this war, she no longer had to supply the profusions of the court, nor the immense revenues of the bishops, nor the pensions of the courtiers, nor the venality of the judges, nor the insolence of lacqueys of every class. The severe morals of the presbyterians, followed by those still more rigid of the Independents, had superseded those of the monarchical society. Frivolous entertainments, feasting, theatres, bull fights, cock fighting, even popular rejoicings, had disappeared. The domains of the crown, the lands of the bishops and chapters, the estates of the nobles, had reverted to the nation, and no individual was the richer for them. The citizens had introduced into the government their habits of order and economy, their probity and their industry. Since the commencement of the war, the devouring plague of idleness had no longer exercised its ravages; every one was employed, either in administering public affairs, or in fighting, or in fabricating arms and cultivating the earth for those who fought. Not only were all the evils of war and fanaticism repaired, but all the indications of a great increase of prosperity manifested themselves.'—pp. 40, 41.

The weak protectorate of Richard, whose nomination by Cromwell was a capital error, paved the way for the Restoration, which was brought about by the base dissimulation and

treachery of Monk. The events immediately preceding it are ably sketched by our author:—

‘The old party of the Stuarts had greatly profited by the troubles which had followed the death of Cromwell; and pursuing those tactics which in civil discords all parties think themselves authorized in adopting, they secretly excited the agitators, spread the most absurd reports, terrified some and seduced others, spoke of reconciliation, of forgetting the past, and actively corresponded with the sons of Charles I., who had taken refuge at Brussels. Ashley Cooper, a man of profound immorality, and with a suppleness of mind which passed for superiority, was the soul of all these intrigues. During the Revolution he had had the address to keep always on the side of the victorious party, and to preserve immense credit with the nation. Having publicly counselled Cromwell to make himself king, he now pretended that he had only given him this advice in order to destroy him, and that he had only served him in order to be in a position to betray him. As he was in thorough possession of all secrets, and a master of all affairs, the princes thought that his mediation could not be too dearly purchased, and by his care their return was urgently hastened on. When the chiefs of the Presbyterian party had made vain efforts to come to an understanding with the Republicans of the *Rump Parliament*, Ashley Cooper, and others, who intrigued with him, boldly made overtures to them on the part of the princes. They at the same time made overtures to General Monk, formerly a royalist, and who since the death of Cromwell had been on indifferent terms with Fleetwood, Lambert, and Desborough. Monk had thorough command over his army, and was posted in a country whose disposition in favour of Charles II. had undergone no change, despite the memory of Dunbar and Worcester. The result of a lengthened negotiation was the formation of a royalist and Presbyterian league against the Independents and the army. It was arranged that Monk should march upon London with his troops, and that, in the first instance, the intention announced should be that of re-establishing the Rump parliament, over which Lambert and his friends had usurped the authority. The soldiers whom these generals might have otherwise opposed to Monk, if the true project had been revealed, were deceived by this manœuvre, and preferred abandoning their chiefs and submitting to the parliament, to drawing the sword against their old companions in arms. Those under the command of Lambert even marched against him, and delivered him to the Rump parliament, which was thus re-established without a struggle. From this moment Monk was the real generalissimo of the army. He concealed his projects for yet some time, until he had secured the important posts in London, placed his own men, and distributed those of the other generals in such a manner that, when they found out the deception practised on them, they should not be able either to rally or oppose any great resistance. Then, as if by a concerted signal, there were sent from London and the various counties, addresses to Monk, in which he was called upon as



the man to whom everything was possible, to reinstate in parliament the Presbyterian members who had been expelled by the Independents in 1648.—pp. 48, 49.

The Declaration of Breda in April 1660 clearly revealed the plot which was at work. It ought to have been a warning; but it proved only a snare. It was the manifesto of a master, wearing, it is true, a benign and gracious aspect, but based throughout on assumptions subversive of popular freedom, and condemnatory of all which had been recently achieved.

The Convention-parliament received its master without conditions. The royal profligate was taken at his word. His pleasure was held to be law, and the power of three kingdoms was placed in his hands, without security being given for its discreet and faithful exercise. Hale and Prynne, almost alone, urged a wiser course; but the discussion of such topics was denounced as fraught with danger; and the renegade Monk insulted the common-sense and rights of Englishmen, by maintaining that the securities to be taken for public liberty might be safely deferred until after the restoration was completed. Verily both Monk and the nation had their reward. The former was raised to the peerage, and is now regarded as amongst the most despicable personages in our history; the latter had to endure a bitter discipline of twenty-eight years' duration, and then to content itself with such a measure of liberty as a dominant aristocracy saw fit to bestow. The haste with which Charles was received was even exceeded by the zeal with which his faintest wish was gratified. 'The conduct pursued,' remarks M. Carrel, 'after the king's arrival, by the parliament, short-sighted and feeble as it had been in his recall, in its forgetfulness of all national dignity, was far more serious in its consequences. The Commons declared, in an address to the king, that they accepted, in the name of the towns and boroughs of England, the gracious pardon offered by the declaration of Breda. When they came to consider the exceptions which this document left to their discretion, they carried them so far, that the king, was obliged to moderate these demonstrations of their zeal, and to remind them, that without the confidence placed in his promises of oblivion of injuries, neither he nor they would then be assembled in parliament.' What followed comported well with this beginning. A special commission, composed of courtiers, or those who had betrayed the revolution, was formed for the trial of the regicides, ten of whom were speedily executed; and three others were subsequently apprehended in Holland, and consigned to the same fate. They met death with more than composure. Whether right or wrong—and judged by legal rules it was clearly the latter—they gloried in the part

they had taken in the execution of Charles, and appealed to posterity to vindicate their fame. 'Devoted by anticipation, but still proudly erect, they sought not by legal subtleties to avert a responsibility which their very position rendered self-evident. Calm before a passion-guided tribunal, they astonished consciences not altogether at their ease, by the imperturbable conviction with which they defended that which they had done, and which the nation had but just learned to abjure.'

The execution of Sir Henry Vane, not as a regicide, but as an enemy of the Stuarts, revealed still more distinctly the merciless character of the Restoration. It was urged on by the king in manifest violation of his promise to the two houses, and plainly proclaimed the spirit in which the new government was to be administered. Few men have more nobly sustained the loftiest professions. As a practical statesman, he was inferior to Cromwell, but for unsullied honour, for lofty patriotism, for fervent benevolence and exalted piety, he has never been surpassed in ancient or modern times. He met death with the heroism of a martyr, and the record of his virtues, illustrated by the calm dignity and religious confidence of his last hours, are amongst the most precious of our historical treasures.

Clarendon was the prime minister of the Restoration; and with him were associated the Earl of Southampton, the Duke of Ormond, Lord Colepepper, and Sir Edward Nicholas. Their policy is now clearly traceable, and though not wholly wanting in claims on our gratitude, was mainly distinguished by intolerance and tyranny. The convention parliament which received the king was composed principally of Presbyterians, who readily lent themselves to the political designs of the court, but were unfit instruments for the religious revolution which was resolved on. It was therefore speedily dissolved, and a new parliament, composed of other and more pliable materials, assembled on the 8th of May, 1662. In this assembly the Cavaliers entirely predominated, and Clarendon was in consequence encouraged to act out his avowed policy of pulling up 'all those principles of sedition and rebellion by the roots, which had been the ground of the infamous rebellion in the Long Parliament.' The Savoy conference was a mere delusion, intended only to amuse till the presbyterians might be punished with impunity. The views of the court were better shown in the Act of Uniformity, the Conventicle Act, and the Five Mile Act, in which the ministers and the bishops heartily concurred, in order to put down their political and religious opponents. For a time they triumphed. Thousands of estimable men were driven from their homes, their ministry was silenced, their families were beggared, and they themselves, in vast numbers, were consigned

to loathsome prisons, and the charge of brutal keepers. These infamous laws contributed, however, to the overthrow of the minister, by whom they had been carried. They contained the germ of a retribution, which was speedily inflicted on the head of Clarendon; and though not alone in producing his fall, they greatly contributed to it. The king was a concealed catholic, and his brother, the Duke of York, was kept, with difficulty, from avowing his preference of the ancient creed. They could not, therefore, but regard with aversion the operation of these persecuting laws on the members of the papal church, and Charles frequently resolved on interposing the royal prerogative, in order to stay their vengeance. On this point, however, the ministers were inexorable, and the opportunity was not lost by their enemies. M. Carrel somewhat overstates this matter, or does not at least give sufficient prominence to other considerations, which accelerated the fall of Clarendon. There is, however, substantial truth in his account of the rupture. He says:—

‘ Under the general name of Non-conformists, the Anglican church persecuted at once the Anabaptists, the Millenarians, the Presbyterians, and the Catholics. Now, the latter had powerful supporters at court, and more than this, were filled with high hopes. The Papists had been throughout the civil war the indefatigable partisans of Charles I. During the exile of the princes they had not, like the Presbyterians, and many members of the Church of England, concurred in the despotism of Cromwell. The king, as we have seen, preferred this religion to all others, not as one of purer doctrine, but as one better adapted to promote the interests of monarchies. The Duke of York, his brother, had a still more decided inclination for it; though intimately connected with the minister, Clarendon, whose daughter he had first seduced and then married, and of whose general administration he was a strenuous supporter, he censured him warmly for this persecution, common to Catholics with Presbyterians. The queen-mother was a zealous Catholic. The king since his return had wedded a Papist princess. The court was filled with priests of this religion, in the service of the two queens; these circumstances determined Charles in requiring of his ministers, and the lower house, to make a distinction in favour of the Catholics, and, not obtaining his object, he complained that the promise he had given in his declaration of Breda was broken against his will. He had announced equal toleration for all, he said, and he would give it; he was master, and he needed no other person's sanction. The ministers, Clarendon and Southampton, represented to him, that if there was one sentiment which, more powerfully than any other, predominated in the breast of Englishmen, it was the hatred of Popery; that the Gunpowder-plot, the executions under Queen Mary, the massacre in Ireland, were not forgotten; that the slightest mark of favour given to the Papists would again raise into impor-



tance the Presbyterians, and other men still more dangerous ; and that, since rigorous measures against the Presbyterians were deemed essential, it was equally essential to preserve those measures from unpopularity, that they should be extended to the Papists and all Nonconformists whatsoever. These arguments failed to influence the king, who intimated his intention to publish a proclamation modifying, in favour of all Nonconformists without exception, the excessive severity of the act of parliament.

' This was the commencement of a misunderstanding between the king and his Anglican ministers, which, on the part of the former, became determined hostility, and, before long, he yielded without reserve to the inclination which drew him towards other men, whose personal profligacy encouraged his own—men who were the companions of his debaucheries, and the obsequious flatterers of his mistresses ; men who were enriched by his prodigality at the expense of the people. Regarded with dislike by Clarendon and Southampton, who throughout had inspired the king rather with respect than with either confidence or friendship, they destroyed the credit of those ministers, by scoffing at their principles, by insinuating distrust of their intentions, and by ridiculing their language and their manners. The latter expedient was of all powerful effect with Charles II., who infinitely preferred the counsels of men who amused him by the sallies of their wit, and interested him by their brilliant vices.—pp. 69-71.

Clarendon's virtues, which were neither numerous nor brilliant, contributed to his overthrow. They combined with the worst features of his administration in preparing the way for his impeachment and exile. He was hated by the Cavaliers for refusing them the ascendancy which they claimed ; by the Presbyterians he was regarded as the author of their sufferings ; and the Catholics abhorred him as standing between them and the royal prerogative. Though wedded to monarchy in the worst forms it had assumed under the Tudors and the Stuarts, there were yet limits to his devotion. Hallam, who evinces no unfriendly disposition towards the chancellor, justly remarks that ' He would prepare the road for absolute monarchy, but not introduce it ; he would assist to batter down the walls, but not to march into the town.' He hesitated, therefore, where the king and his brother specially looked for obedience, and the estrangement thus commenced was turned into bitter enmity when it was found that he was resolutely opposed to the religious policy of his masters. His private virtues were also offensive to a monarch whose excesses he reprov'd, and whose chosen companions he regarded with aversion and contempt.

' It was,' says M. Carrel, ' in the eighth year of the reign of Charles II. that the Anglican ministry fell. It had fulfilled all that its principles permitted it to undertake in promotion of the counter-

revolution; now that this revolution required the overthrow of the Anglican worship and the suppression of the parliamentary opposition, it found itself under the necessity of transferring its destinies to fresh hands. The Catholic party having as yet but a precarious and unavowed existence, it was only men of reckless ambition, and alike indifferent to all sects and all parties, who would consent to become instrumental to the iniquitous object in view. Such men readily presented themselves in the libertine throng who had long since collected around the king, and whom the public denounced as the instigators of all his misconduct; for when the nation has thrown the shield of inviolability over the person of its monarch, its only resource, when he misgoverns them or himself, is to allege that he is misled by others.'—p. 84.

Clarendon was succeeded, after a short interval, by the *Cabal* ministry, one of the most corrupt and reckless cliques which ever ruled the fortunes of a nation. It was composed of Lord Clifford, the Earl of Arlington, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Ashley, better known as Earl of Shaftesbury, and the Duke of Lauderdale, than whom it would have been difficult, even in that age of corrupt politicians, to bring together more unprincipled or disgraceful men. Charles became the pensioner of Louis XIV., and conspired, with the meanness of an assassin, against the liberties of a nation, whose greatest folly had been its confidence in his word. The French king engaged to assist him in dispensing with parliaments, and he in return undertook to assist Louis in the conquest of Holland. Their treaty was carefully concealed, but its general features could not fail to be suspected from the obvious insincerity and tortuous policy of the king. The restoration of popery and the establishment of political despotism were the objects of the Cabal ministry throughout its existence. Happily its power was inferior to its turpitude. The sturdy qualities of the English people were proof against its seductions, and even their prejudices were on this occasion subservient to their true interests. As an illustration of the base practices to which the court was prepared to stoop, we may instance the mutilation of Sir John Coventry for words spoken in parliament, and the impunity secured to the retainer who had attempted to assassinate one of the most zealous partisans of the Stuart house. Referring to the latter, M. Carrel says,—

'Some time after this, a ruffian, named Blood, hired by Buckingham to assassinate the old duke of Ormond, having failed to effect his purpose, was tried, and being condemned, received the king's pardon. The unaccountable protection granted by Charles to this man, who afterwards appeared at Court, decorated with orders, in receipt of a pension, and in high credit, was interpreted in the most

unfavourable manner, and gave rise, in the presence of the whole court, to a scene very offensive to Charles. The son of the old duke, (the Earl of Ossory,) soon afterwards seeing the duke of Buckingham standing by the king, could not contain himself, and addressed him thus: 'My lord of Buckingham, I know well that you are at the bottom of this late attempt of Blood's upon my father; and therefore I give you fair warning, that if my father comes to a violent end, by sword or pistol; if he dies by the hand of a ruffian, or by the more secret way of poison, I shall not be at a loss to know the first author of it; I shall consider you as the assassin; I shall treat you as such; and wherever I meet you I shall pistol you, though you should stand behind the king's chair. And I tell it you now in his majesty's presence, that you may be sure I shall keep my word.' No one spoke a word; Buckingham and the king himself kept silence. It was impossible to brave either of them more daringly.'—pp. 96, 97.

A subtle policy was now attempted with a view of estranging the Protestant Dissenters from all sympathy with the Anglican Church. The king and his ministers affected to commiserate their condition, and to desire their relief from the intolerant laws under which they suffered. The advocates of persecution became loud in their professions of leniency, and reproached the hierarchy with resorting to measures alike inconsistent with social happiness and the benign spirit of the Christian faith. The real object was to serve the Papists, and the king's Declaration of Indulgence was, therefore, rejected by the nation, as a covert attack on the Reformation. The popular party in the Commons summoned all their strength to contest the prerogative on this point. Reading correctly the signs of the times they limited themselves to the exposure of its popish policy, and called upon the nation to assist them in defending the Protestant faith. In this effort they were successful, though their temporary triumph was purchased at an ultimate cost far beyond its value. The Test Act of 1673, compelled the Duke of York, and various other Catholic officers and functionaries to resign their posts, and led to the early breaking up of the Cabal Ministry. The court had vainly endeavoured to rally the Presbyterians to its aid, but no confidence was reposed in its professions, and Alderman Love, one of the members for London, and a zealous Presbyterian, declared on behalf of his co-religionists, that they were content to let the bill pass without the clause in favour of non-conforming Protestants, which the court had proposed in the hope of securing a rejection of the measure.

'He said that before all things it was essential to combat popery; that the test would openly brand all those who secretly favoured that dangerous heresy; that several provisions of the bill were, in-



deed, very vexatious to those who, like himself, were of the Presbyterian church, but that, pending the attainment of more favourable terms, he declared, in their name, that they would prefer remaining exposed to the severity of the laws of the church of England, than impede them in their operation against the papists.—p. 106.

The confidence thus expressed was misplaced, and a century and a half had to elapse before parliament could be induced to abolish the law which desecrated a religious ordinance, and deprived a large portion of the community, not originally contemplated, of their civil rights. The debate on this bill in the House of Lords was signalized by the defection of Shaftesbury from the court. He was too far-seeing not to recognise the danger which threatened the *Cabal*, and therefore hastened to make his peace with the popular party. As unprincipled as he was ambitious, he readily veered with every change, and having already betrayed the patriots, he now rendered the same service to the court.

The Cabal Ministry was succeeded in 1673 by that of the Earl of Danby, and the period of its existence, which continued to 1678, was full of dissimulation and chicanery on the part of the king, and of growing mistrust and boldness on that of the commons. It reverted, on some points, to the policy of Clarendon, and sought to make the king absolute, without aiding the restoration of popery.

‘Let us see what the new administration under Danby did. Judging that the defeat of the court party had arisen from the unexpected reconciliation between the Presbyterians and the members of the church of England, in order to destroy this alliance, it conceived the idea of forming another between the church of England party and the old cavaliers, who since the restoration had been treated with a neglect amounting to ingratitude.

‘To ingratiate the churchmen, they prosecuted a number of papists; they undertook the reconstruction of the cathedral of Saint Paul, destroyed in the fire of London. Conferences were arranged between them and some English bishops, in reference to a scheme which was to destroy popery for the benefit of the kingdom and of the English church. In these conferences, it was proposed that all the sanguinary laws against the Nonconformists, without distinction of sect, should be again put in force, and that there should be drawn up a political test, to be presented to the two houses, as a complement of the religious test adopted in the last session.’—p. 113.

The instrument with which the minister worked, and on which he mainly relied, was money. This was liberally dispensed amongst the opposition, and even some of its leaders did not disdain to receive it as the price of softening particular votes. In the mean time one of those paroxysms occurred, to which all

popular communities are more or less subject. Universal distrust prevailed. All men attributed to Charles and his brother an intention of subverting the established religion, and in doing so, as clear evidence now proves, were not far wrong. The popular mind was therefore prepared, and Titus Oates and his companions, the heroes of the popish plot, found ready credence for their atrocious falsehoods. The nation was, in fact, frenzied. All classes partook of the delusion. The honest, as well as the base; the patriotic, equally with the trading politician; the church-of-England-man and the dissenter, the bishop and the presbyter, all sympathised with the common sentiment, and under the combined influence of fear and resentment, were deaf to the voice of reason and the appeals of justice. 'The Lords and Commons,' it was declared by the two houses, 'are of opinion that there is, and hath been, a damnable and hellish plot, contrived and carried on by popish recusants, for assassinating and murdering the king, for subverting the government, and uprooting and destroying the protestant religion.'

'And now commenced, before the courts of justice and the upper house, a sombre prosecution of the Catholic lords Arundel, Petre-Stafford, Powis, Bellasis, the Jesuits Coleman, Ireland, Grieve, Pickering, and, in succession, all who were implicated by the indefatigable denunciations of Titus Oates and Bedloe. Unhappily, these courts of justice, desiring, in common with the whole nation to condemn rather than to examine, wanted neither elements which might, if strictly acted upon, establish legal proof of conspiracy against some of the accused, nor terrible laws to destroy them when found guilty. And it was here that a spectacle, at first imposing, became horrible. No friendly voice arose to save those men who were guilty only of impracticable wishes, of extravagant conceptions. The king, the duke of York, the French Abassador, thoroughly acquainted as they were with the real nature of these imputed crimes, remained silent; they were thoroughly cowed. No generous remonstrance was made by the enlightened men, who saw in this accusation merely a specious but useful argument against popery. Many influential members of the two Houses regarded Oates and Bedloe, to use Lord Shaftesbury's expression, as men fallen from heaven expressly to save England from tyranny. They made it a fearful system with them not to combat, in minds weaker than their own, a credulity arising from fear and from a love of the marvellous. There were some, and among others Seymour, who seized this pretext of dangers incurred by the king, to pass over, with popular applause, to the Opposition; and hence that concurrence of men of all parties and of every opinion, in punishing utterly vague projects under the determinate form given them by the voice of the informers.'—p. 129.

We cannot dwell on this deplorable tragedy. It was honour-

able to none, and the weapons which it sharpened, were speedily turned against their employers. It must, however, be borne in mind, as Mr. Hallam has justly remarked, 'that there was really and truly a popish plot in being, though not that which Titus Oates and his associates pretended to reveal. . . . In this plot the king, the duke of York, and the king of France, were chief conspirators; the Romish priests, and especially the Jesuits, were eager cooperators.' So much must be admitted to the truth of history, but it offers no justification of the measures which were adopted. The impeachment of Danby speedily followed, and marked another triumph of the popular power. The monarch endeavoured to save his minister, but the prerogative suffered in the contest. Parliament was prorogued, and afterwards dissolved, but its successor renewed the impeachment, and Danby was at length committed to the tower. For a time, Charles seemed to be subdued. None doubted his inclinations, but many were willing to believe that he had, at length, learned wisdom, and was prepared to demean himself as a constitutional monarch. He sought the advice, and appeared to lean on the character and ability of Sir William Temple. But all this was delusive—a mere bending before the storm, to resume, 'ere long, his natural position.' The coalition ministry which succeeded in the spring of 1679, endured but for a short time, and never enjoyed the confidence either of parliament or of the nation. Its members were endlessly divided in their views, and even those who had been selected from the opposition, were far from agreeing in their policy; some were more than suspected of a leaning towards republicanism; others favoured the pretensions of the duke of Monmouth; while a third party advocated extreme limitations to the prerogative, as the best means of guarding against the dangers arising from a popish successor. Wearied with the abortive effort, Lord Russell, and others, at length retired from the council: and the triumvirate Essex, Halifax, and Sunderland, soon found that their advice was disregarded by a faithless master. Parliament was prorogued indefinitely, and a serious illness, with which the king was attacked, aroused at once the sympathy and the fears of the nation. Shaftesbury was dismissed, Essex and Halifax resigned, and the return of the duke of York emboldened his brother to organize a new administration of more compliant and despotic temper. The attempted exclusion of the duke of York was mainly instrumental in producing this change, and the new ministry, of which Lord Radnor was the nominal head, was relied on to frustrate the efforts of the popular party to carry this measure through the upper house. Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, was a leading member of this administration, and



is described by an unscrupulous advocate of his party, in a manner not remarkably to his credit. 'His infirmities,' says North, 'were passion, in which he would swear like a cutter, and indulging in wine. But his party was that of the church of England, of whom he had the honour for many years to be counted the head.' It would lead us too far from our design, were we to sketch the proceedings of the two houses on the Exclusion Bill. It was carried again and again by the commons, but was as frequently rejected by the lords, where the bishops, true to their political subserviency, threw their whole weight into the scale of the court. In the meantime, a reaction was taking place. The leaders of opposition were outstripping the popular will; the timid and the wealthy began to fear that the times of 1640 were about to return, and a manœuvre of the court, by which a bill was introduced, exempting protestant non-conformists from the laws enacted against popery, reawoke the intolerance of the established church, and disengaged many of its adherents from opposition. In this state of the public feeling a new parliament was elected, which the king summoned to meet at Oxford on the 21st of March, 1681. He repaired thither with a strong body of guards, and many of the members were attended by large numbers of their constituents. Everything portended a crisis, and thoughtful men began to calculate the mischiefs of civil war. The Exclusion Bill was again carried by the commons, when the king, thoroughly alarmed, yet resolved on his course, suddenly dissolved the house, and returned to Windsor. Few had been prepared for so bold a step. It did not accord with the character of the king, but was evidently planned and arranged for by his brother. Its effect was marvellous, and had the nature of Englishmen permitted, it might have been improved to the permanent advantage of absolutism.

'The dissolution,' says our author, 'of the parliament of Oxford was promptly followed by a manifesto addressed to the nation by the king. Taking credit to himself for all the moderation, throwing all the fault upon the parliament, he gave an account to England of what had passed: 'We offered to concur in any remedies that could be proposed for the security of the Protestant religion, and to preserve the liberty and property of our subjects at home, and to supporting our neighbours and allies abroad, to all which we have met with most unsuitable returns from the house of commons. But for all this, we are resolved, by the blessing of God, to have frequent parliaments, and both in and out of parliament to use our utmost efforts to extirpate Popery, and to redress all the grievances of our good subjects, and in all things to govern according to the laws of the kingdom.' 'The effect produced by this manifesto is one of the gravest subjects for meditation presented by this history. The vio-

lent rupture of Oxford all at once turned to the profit of the court. Without intrigues, without a struggle, from a simple displacing of those immense forces which the exclusion party had not been able to conduct to the point of civil war, royalty, just before about to succumb, again became all-powerful, and its adversaries lost even their existence as a party. Every class of interest, all shades of opinion, united in the desire to avert civil war, to put an end to a state of agitation which must lead to it, accepted the new promises of the king, if not as a guarantee for liberty, at least as so much time gained. All those who from principle, passion or interest, did not allow themselves to be led away by this general movement, were fain to conceal themselves or remain silent; the only class which adhered to them being the lowest ranks of the populace.

'The high clergy had been threatened as well as the court; it looked upon this victory as its own; it had the king's manifesto read to the people in all the churches, and declaimed from the pulpits against those who, under the pretext of combating popery, had desired to bring back the revolutionary regime. Addresses in reply to the declaration came from all parts of the kingdom: the grand juries, the quarter-sessions, cities, boroughs, corporations, hastened to declare their adhesion to the great change which had just taken place. Some of the addresses confined themselves to the expression of their confidence in the good intentions of the king, others congratulated him on his frank reconciliation with the church of England; but the majority were a condemnation of the principles upon which it had been attempted to exclude the duke of York; some of the most energetic denounced the acts of the two last parliaments as rebellion; some went so far as to demand that the penal laws should be put in force against the Nonconforming Protestants; the addresses of the old cavalier party were either ridiculous rhodomontade, or an apology for all that the royal government had done against the principles of the Revolution. Most of the citizens who presented their addresses were made knights. They gave one another banquets, at which they drank with vehement enthusiasm the health of the king and the duke of York; as to popery, there was now no more said about it, than though it had never inspired a fear in England.'—pp. 155—157.

The connexion of the opposition leaders during the period we have reviewed, with the French king, has been matter of severe crimination. The fact is beyond dispute, though the extent to which it proceeded is matter of question. It was conducted through the French ambassadors, Barillon and Rouvigny, and commenced about the spring of 1678. Lords Russell and Hollis are free from the suspicion of having received money, though others, amongst whom we regret to find the name of Algernon Sidney, are not equally exempt. Sums of five hundred or three hundred guineas are represented by Barillon as having been taken by them, in token of the French king's favour. We

should be glad to discredit Barillon's accounts, and there are not wanting circumstances which involve their accuracy in suspicion. On the whole, however, our judgment inclines to an admission of the fact, nor is it difficult for a candid mind to discover, not a justification certainly, but a solution of it, consistent with the integrity of the parties concerned. They knew that Charles relied on the French king, and must probably have felt that, if the latter entered thoroughly into his interests, it would scarcely be possible to preserve the liberties of England. They might, therefore, not unreasonably think, that it was expedient to keep up a good understanding with France; to countermine the plots of the court, of which Versailles was known to be the scene; to fight their king with his own weapons, that he might thus at least be disarmed, and the danger which threatened from his French ally be averted. Such, we apprehend, was their reasoning; and there is one thing which strongly corroborates the supposition. They never deserted the popular cause, nor swerved even for an instant from their fidelity to it. What they were before their communications with Louis they continued to be afterwards. His foreign schemes may possibly have been aided, though of this we have no clear evidence, but on English ground and in relation to English liberty, they abided, with all integrity and zeal, by their professions. So much is due to their memory, but it would have been better for their reputation, and, on the whole, better for their country too, if they had eschewed the arts of intrigue, and kept themselves free from the suspicion of corruption. The true strength of patriotism lies in its obvious integrity. Anything which involves this in doubt is a national evil, which a sense of public duty, as well as a regard to personal repute, should urge all popular leaders to avoid. The advocates of liberty, in order to fulfil their high vocation, should be like Cæsar's wife.

The court was not slow in improving its present advantage. Many of the charters of the kingdom were cancelled, the non-conformists were bitterly persecuted, and legal proceedings were instituted against some of the most eminent members of opposition. The trials of Russell and Sidney are well known, and need not be dwelt on. They were conducted with brutal ferocity; the laws of evidence were grossly violated, and the verdicts of the juries were foregone conclusions. The execution of these illustrious patriots speedily followed, and the record of their virtues, and of the calm dignity with which they met their fate, is sacred to every true Englishman. Their names are lisped by our children, and will live in the national memory so long as the spirit of freedom survives.

Thus far we have attempted to sketch a brief outline of the



*Counter-Revolution*, recorded by M. Carrel. From this period the supremacy of James, duke of York, dates, but we must defer to some future opportunity any notice of his despotism and folly. Our limits are already exceeded.

In the translation of M. Carrel's work, an acceptable service has been rendered to the English reader, for which we tender our thanks. In the event, however, of a second edition, we counsel its being carefully revised. It bears marks of haste, and in some instances scarcely succeeds in rendering the meaning of the author intelligible.

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Art. VIII.—1. *Fisher's Drawing-Room Scrap-Book*, 1847. By the Hon. Mrs. Norton. Fisher, Son, and Co., London.

2. *The Juvenile Scrap-Book*. By the Author of the *Women of England*. 1847. Fisher, Son, and Co., London.

3. *The Gallery of Scripture Engravings, Historical and Landscape, with Descriptions, Historical, Geographical, and Pictorial*. By John Kitto, D.D., F.S.A., Editor of the *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature, &c. &c.* Volume I. Fisher, Son, and Co., London.

THE children of the present generation ought to be much wiser than their predecessors. Every method which ingenuity can devise is adopted for their instruction, and the richest and noblest productions of the human mind are placed within their reach, as soon as their intellects are sufficiently matured to qualify them for their perusal. We anticipate large results from the cheapening of our standard literature, and shall be much disappointed if the race now springing up into life be not better informed, on all points conducive to human improvement and happiness, than those of us who are passing off the stage. Whilst gratified by the diffusion of useful knowledge, we are also pleased to notice the increased attention which is given to works of art. This has been very observable for some years past, and the class of *Annals*, though not destined, we imagine, to endure for ever, has contributed certainly to familiarise the public mind with some of the choicest productions of British art. They have promoted, if not created, a want previously unfelt, and are now giving place to other works of more permanent value.

'Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap-Book' again solicits public favour in a garb of tasteful elegance, and under the able editorship of the Hon. Mrs. Norton. It appears this year with its accustomed splendour, embellished with beautiful portraits of

the Queen and Prince Albert; on the former of which Mrs. Norton has written rather a long poem, from the commencement of which we extract a few lines.

' A fair face, and a fragile arm,  
In England's present hour,  
Assume the sceptre and the crown;  
Emblems of royal power.  
And he who deems a woman's hand  
Should scarce have strength to sway,  
Let him but gaze on that fair face,  
And it shall say him nay.  
\* \* \* \* \*  
And England treasures glorious days,  
Linked with a woman's reign :  
The past has given the future pledge.  
Such trust need not be vain.'

The editor gives us as her frontispiece a likeness of her own beautiful face, in which is distinctly marked superiority of intellect, loftiness of sentiment, warm and ardent feeling, with an eye speaking the softer and deep-loving powers of her soul. In gazing on her countenance, we cannot avoid the wish that she had been placed in the midst of a domestic circle, where her better qualities would have been appreciated, rather than in the sphere which has proved so unfriendly to their growth. The volume contains thirty-six beautifully executed engravings, including *The Anglers*, *Lord Byron's room in the Moncenigo Palace*, *The Common Loss*, and *The Fountain of Vaucuse*, with several portraits of eminent persons, amongst which are admirable likenesses of Richard Cobden, Esq., and of the Hon. C. P. Villiers. The poetry is certainly superior, and we feel some difficulty in making our selection from its many beauties. *The Departure of Hagar*, *The Anglers*, *Christ and the Leper*, *The Gates of Rome and the Gates of Heaven*, and many others, are written with great taste and sensibility. The soliloquy of *Mrs. Harris while threading her needle*, by Lady Dufferin, we subjoin, for the entertainment of our readers.

' Ah deary me ! what needles ! Well, really I must say,  
All things are sadly altered (for the worse, too) since my day !  
The pins have neither heads nor points—the needles have no eyes,  
And there's ne'er a pair of scissors of the good old-fashioned size !  
The very bodkins now are made in fine new-fangled ways,  
And the good old British thimble—is a dream of other days !  
Now that comes of machinery !—I'm given to understand,  
That great folks turn their noses up at all things 'done by hand,'  
Altho' its easy proving to the most thick-pated dunce,  
That things ar'nt done the better for all beimg done at once.

I'm sure I often ponder, with a kind of awful dread  
On those bold 'spinning-jennies' that 'go off, of their own head !'  
Those power-looms and odd machines,—those whizzing things with  
wheels,

That evermore 'keep moving,'—besides, one really feels  
So superannuated-like, and laid upon a shelf,  
When one sees a worsted stocking get up, and *knit itself*.

\* \* \* \* \*

Ah ! that comes of those radicals ! Why, life's a perfect storm,—  
A whirlwind of inventions ! with their 'progress' and 'reform.'  
The good old days—the quiet times, that calmly used to glide,  
Are changed into a steeple chase,—a wild 'cross-country ride !  
A loud view—holloa in our ears—away ! away ! we go ;  
A levelling all distinctions, and a mingling high and low :  
All spurring on, with seats so light, and principles so loose,  
Which ! over this old prejudice ! slap-bang ! through that abuse !  
No matter why,—no matter where ! without a stop or hitch,  
And nobody has time to help his neighbour in the ditch !  
And then, what turns and changes ! Good luck ! I'd rather be,  
A joint-stool in a pantomime, than some great folks I see.'  
Now that comes of newspapers ! I know in my young days,  
'Least said, and soonest mended,' was a maxim worthy praise ;  
But were I to give counsel to the Public—as a friend,  
'Little said and nothing written,' is the rule I'd recommend.  
Such snapping up and setting down ! Reporters, left and right !  
All bent on penning down a man *to lie*, in black and right !  
Such raking up of Hansard ! such flinging in one's face,  
Any little 'lapsus linguæ' that may once have taken place !  
Such a finding, and a proving, and a calling over coals,  
As if it really mattered to our poor immortal souls,  
That Thingumbob should think or say, on questions so and so,  
The foolish things he thought and said some forty years ago !  
There's one thing in those papers, tho', I'm very glad to see,  
That many more *old women* think like me :  
I'm even told that certain dukes will echo back my groan,  
And sigh for those dear golden days when we 'left *well* alone.'

Mrs. Ellis has not been unmindful of the claims of her young friends at this season of the year, and her annual, 'The Juvenile Scrap Book'—will be sure to receive what it fully merits—their cordial welcome. She has spared neither pains nor trouble to render it both attractive and useful. The latter, as usual, she has kept prominently in view, believing, as she tells us, 'that her young friends will never find themselves more happy than when *thinking* on subjects worthy of thought.' The volume contains five tales, written with animation and taste, and a tone of healthful sentiment prevails throughout, which cannot fail to benefit the class of youthful readers for whom it is intended. There are sixteen very creditably executed engravings ; and of



the poetry, our readers shall judge for themselves from the following specimen :—

## TIME.

‘ What is so swift, thou foaming river,  
As their bright waters in their flow ?  
Scarce on thy breast the sunbeams quiver  
Ere, mingling light and foam, they go.

Time is more swift, for while the finger  
Of hope would point some hour of joy,  
Like evening tints that may not linger,  
Dark shades of night that hour destroy.

Grieve not that thus, by Heaven directed  
Quick-rolling Time sweeps on his way ;  
But joy to think the thief detected  
Who steals our misspent hours away.’

We congratulate the public on the appearance of the first volume of ‘The Gallery of Scripture Engravings,’ considering it one of the most finished works in our illustrated literature ; and believing it to be worthy of a place on the library shelf, when it has served its purpose in the drawing-room and social circle. If picturesque illustrations of the events and localities of scripture history, are in themselves worthy of notice ; they are rendered doubly so by the explanations and descriptions given in this volume, by Dr. Kitto, the able editor of *The Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*. The Landscapes, ‘represent the most interesting of the sites mentioned in the sacred Scripture ; and while they largely gratify the desire so generally felt, to become acquainted with the distinguishing characteristics of the spots made venerable by the acts and sufferings of Christ, and by the presence of patriarchs, prophets, and apostles ; the combination of historical and landscape engravings, cannot but be deemed as natural as it is unquestionably interesting. The Historical subjects gratify the taste, and assist the imagination by realising the circumstances and action of the scriptural incidents, while at the same time, the landscapes represent in faithful characters the places where these circumstances were witnessed.’ The work is rendered more valuable by the accuracy which marks its descriptions ;—an accuracy which has been secured by extensive research, and the author’s personal acquaintance with the East. The publishers have done wisely in ‘leaving the literary department in the care’ of Dr. Kitto, whose ‘well-known productions in biblical literature’ constitute an ample guarantee for the ‘truthfulness of the descriptions, and for the soundness

of the views which they embody.' We find the names of Rubens, Rembrandt, Raffaele, Correggio, Vandyke, West, and other eminent artists amongst the masters, from whose paintings, the plates, which are sixty-five in number, have been taken. They include *The last Supper*, *The destruction of Jerusalem*, *The Convent of Mount Carmel*, *Hagar sent away*, *Hagar in the Desert*, *Samuel and Eli*, and many others which might be selected. We recommend *The Gallery of Scripture Engravings* as a work of intrinsic value to all who are interested in the localities of the events recorded in Holy Writ.

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Art. IX.—1. *An Address on behalf of the London Branch of the Provisional Committee, 1845.*

2. *Narrative of the Proceedings of the Meetings held in Liverpool, October, 1845.*
3. *Minutes of the Meetings of the Aggregate Committee held in Liverpool, October, 1845, and January, 1846.*
4. *Minutes of the Meetings of the Aggregate Committee, held in Birmingham, April, 1846.*
5. *On the Evangelical Alliance; its Design, its Difficulties, its Proceedings, and its Prospects, with Practical Suggestions.* By the Rev. Dr. Chalmers.
6. *Abstract of the Proceedings and final Resolutions of the Conference, held in Freemasons' Hall, London, on August 19th, 1846, and following days.*
7. *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Conference.*
8. *Appendix to the Report of the Proceedings of the Conference.*
9. *Historical Sketch of the Evangelical Alliance.*

WE have before us all the documents, legitimately within our reach, relating to the history and proceedings of the Evangelical Alliance. These we are about to use with exclusive reference to the question of religious fellowship with slaveholders, and particularly American or United States slaveholders. We shall leave all other questions regarding the Alliance wholly untouched in the present article, and shall, as far as possible, write uninfluenced by any opinions we may entertain concerning

the origin, objects, principles, and tendencies of the Alliance. Apart from all other considerations, we should have been disposed to bestow the heartiest commendation on that body, if its course on the subject of slavery had been consistent with our views of religious integrity, and the nature of the abomination to be dealt with; while, neither personal esteem for the men who composed, in great part, the late Conference, nor the most sincere love for the professed object of the Alliance—Christian Union—will prevent us from stating the facts of the case, or from pronouncing our judgment upon them.

In this matter we have no discretion. Our duty to truth, and the sacred cause of God and man, demand from us a fearless and honest review of the events which have taken place during the past year, on the subject of slavery, in connexion with a proposal to unite in a grand Ecumenical Alliance, Christians of Evangelical sentiments throughout all the regions of the earth. During the period necessary for the preparations for a meeting, at which such an Alliance should be formed, the question of slavery, and slaveholding by professed Evangelical Christians, came to be considered, and disposed of. At the meeting recently assembled in London, it again came under consideration; it occupied four days, and was again disposed of. Since the meeting in London, it has been forced upon the attention of a meeting composed exclusively of British members, assembled in Manchester, and has been again disposed of. Let us review these several discussions, and their results. A deeply solemn and unutterably momentous subject has been again and again made the theme of deliberation, and the matter of divers decisions, by assemblies of men met for the purpose of promoting a hallowed, tender, and heavenly union among the followers of the Lord Jesus Christ,—a union in spirit and holy effort, for high and sanctified ends, among men superior to the influence of names, and parties, and forms, and shades of doctrine—men capable of recognising, admiring, and loving the image and the character of Christ, in disciples who might not happen to sit upon the same form in the divine school, or to bear the same denomination in the church militant. That subject was slaveholding,—the buying, selling, and retaining of *human* beings as articles of merchandise. The question was,—‘Is a man who buys and sells his fellow-creatures eligible for admission into an Evangelical Alliance? An alliance of those who are to furnish to the world the most sublime proof, since the days of Pentecost, of the purity and power of the religion of Christ?’ The days of Pentecost! When the disciples ‘were *all* filled with the Holy Ghost,’ and ‘spake the word of God with boldness;’ ‘neither said any of



them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things in common.' 'Shall a man, known to be in unlawful possession of his fellow-men, and to claim them as his property, in the same way as his furniture and farm implements,—who claims them in virtue of laws, which not only allow him to possess them as chattels, but forbid him at the same time to instruct them either for time or for eternity, be a member of the Evangelical Alliance?' That was the question which had to be determined—not by those who claimed to be ranked as evangelical Christians, while they held slaves, and trafficked in the persons of men; but by an overwhelming majority of non-slaveholders; of British Christians, whose acts were to proclaim to the world, whether or not men might be the disciples, the messengers, and the ministers of Christ, while they were slaveholders.

Before we look at the conduct of the parties connected with the Alliance, let us glance at the progress of religious opinion in this country on the subject of slave-trading and slave-holding. The movement in favour of the abolition of slavery, whether in this country or in America, had its origin in a deep religious sentiment, and a profound and conscientious examination of the word of God. The prize essay of Clarkson, especially his preface to the second edition; the writings of Granville Sharpe; the journals of John Woolman; the appeal of William Wilberforce; and the life-long labours of Sandiford and Benezet, will abundantly prove this. The torch of freedom in this holy cause was lighted at the altar of God. The sustaining motive in the souls of those who consecrated themselves to the work, was not mere humanity. No; they not only pitied the sufferings of the victim of oppression, and yearned for his deliverance, but saw, with the vision of men 'pure in heart,' a stupendous and most guilty violation of the law of God, calling for vengeance, not alone on the immediate perpetrators of the deed, but on the nations sanctioning or permitting the impious and inhuman traffic. Religion led the way. Religion, 'pure and undefiled,' supported the men who fainted not, until the reluctant senates of the land pronounced the doom of the accursed trade. To Christianity belongs the glory of redeeming our nation from the crime of making merchandise of slaves and of the souls of men.

As it was in the case of the abolition of the slave-trade, so was it also in respect of slavery. It is true that the Christian world did not at once admit the crime of slave-holding under all circumstances; and yet there was an instinctive revolt from the act, wherever the judgment and feelings were uncorrupted. Nothing, however, was wanting; but some powerful voice to

enunciate the unadulterated and eternal truth, to call forth an universal response. That voice was at length heard; it was the voice of the late Dr. Andrew Thomson, of Edinburgh, who, on unfurling the banner of Immediate Emancipation, declared, with the authority of God, and the attestation of all human hearts in his favour, the essential, invariable, and everlasting sinfulness of slave-holding.

‘Slavery,’ he said, ‘is hostile to the original and essential rights of our humanity,—contrary to the inflexible and paramount demands of moral justice,—at eternal variance with the spirit and maxims of revealed religion,—inimical to all that is merciful in the heart and holy in the conduct; and, on these accounts, exposed to the curse of Almighty God. The guilt does not consist merely in making slaves; it consists as much in keeping them slaves. The present slaveholders, *and their advocates in this country*, cannot escape by setting up such a distinction. It avails them nothing; for if it be unlawful, iniquitous, and unchristian to steal a man, and force him into bondage, it must be equally unlawful, iniquitous and unchristian to retain him in that state; whether he has been purchased, or received as a gift, or got by inheritance, or obtained in any other way whatever. The unfortunate victim, in either case, suffers a wrong which is denounced by the law of nature, and by the law of revelation, and which cannot be persevered in by us, or *receive countenance from us*, without involving us in deep moral guilt.’

The language of the divine was echoed by the statesman, when Mr. Brougham, with kindred eloquence, exclaimed, in the Commons’ House of Parliament:—

‘Tell me not of rights; talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves. I deny the right—I acknowledge not the property. The principles, the feelings of our common nature, rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or to the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it. In vain you tell me of laws that sanction such a claim! *There is a law above all the enactments of human codes*—the same throughout the world, the same in all times—such as it was before the daring genius of Columbus pierced the night of ages, and opened to one world sources of power, wealth, and knowledge; to another, all unutterable woes;—such it is at this day: *it is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man*; and by that law, eternal, unchangeable, while men despise fraud, and loath rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty phantasy, *that man can hold property in man!* In vain you appeal to treaties, to covenants between nations. The covenants of the Almighty, whether the old covenant or the new, denounce such unholy pretensions. To those laws did they of old refer, who maintained the African trade. Such treaties did they cite, and not untruly; for by one shameful compact you bartered the glories of Blenheim for the traffic in blood. Yet, in despite of law and of



treaty, that infernal traffic is now destroyed, and its votaries put to death like other pirates. How came this change to pass? Not, assuredly, by parliament leading the way; but *the country at length awoke*; the indignation of the people was kindled; it descended in thunder, and smote the traffic, and scattered its guilty profits to the winds. Now, then, let the planters beware—let their assemblies beware—let the government at home beware—let the parliament beware! The same country is once more awake,—awake to the condition of negro slavery; the same indignation kindles in the bosom of the same people; the same cloud is gathering that annihilated the slave-trade; and, if it shall descend again, they on whom its crash may fall, will not be destroyed before I have warned them; but I pray that their destruction may turn away from us the more terrible judgments of God!

Then came an earnest and general agitation of the question. Agents and lecturers were sent forth to enlighten and arouse the people. The appeal was still, and more than ever, to the principles and requirements of the law of God. 'Slavery is a crime in the sight of God, and therefore ought to be immediately abolished,' was the motto under which the battle was fought. Then came a cry from the West Indies—sent from among the smouldering ruins of chapels destroyed by the hand of the slaveholding incendiary.—'Christianity and slavery are incompatible. Slavery must be abolished, or, Christianity will be exiled.' The Christian people of Great Britain decided that slavery should die; and with one voice demanded the sentence, and its execution. Then came the general election of 1832, and then the meeting of the reformed parliament in 1833, and then, the speech of Lord Stanley, on bringing in a bill for the abolition of slavery, in which was the memorable declaration, 'That he did so, as the minister of the crown, in obedience to the irresistible demand of the religious public of the country.' To Christianity, then, belongs the glory of having abolished slavery in the colonies of Great Britain. Oh! how often would the rude hand of avarice and power have extinguished the flame of anti-slavery zeal in England, if it had not been fed by the unceasing watchfulness and care of Christian zeal! Often, it flickered, and seemed about to expire; but it was kept alive, and sent forth at last to consume the scourges and fetters of oppression. 'Not unto us, not unto us, but unto thy name, O Lord,' who didst inspire, sustain, direct, and bless us, 'be all the praise.'

On the annihilation of the system of man-proprietorship in our colonies, the eyes of the religious public of this country were turned to the United States of America. It was a period to try the faith and uprightness of all Christian denominations, for there was a fervent spirit of hostility to slavery, and, at the same



time, a longing desire among the non-conforming churches of England to cultivate an intimate and lasting fellowship with the trans-Atlantic churches. The Wesleyan body had set the example of sending deputations across the ocean, to extend the right hand of brotherly love to the Methodist Episcopal body of the United States. The Independents and Baptists resolved to do the same. Delegates were appointed and sent forth to bear the fraternal greetings of their brethren in the fatherland, to the churches of the New World. When the last named body appointed their representatives, they expressly and solemnly charged them, 'to promote most zealously, and to the utmost of their ability, in the spirit of love, of discretion, and of fidelity, the sacred cause of negro emancipation;' and we write advisedly, when we say, that this language secured the co-operation and pecuniary aid of many churches which did not sympathise in the more general and indefinite objects which the delegation contemplated. If there was evinced, by these deputations, any shortcomings; if, to any extent, they made the question of slavery subordinate to the other ends of their mission; if through inadvertence, they failed to embrace the opportunities which presented themselves, of vindicating the claims of the slave population, and of faithfully expounding the views of their churches at home—their conduct, in these respects, found few apologists. On the contrary, there were many and unequivocal indications of deep dissatisfaction, that so little had been done for the anti-slavery cause, and that there had been such a cordial recognition of the title to fellowship, of the churches implicated in the sin of slavery. The brethren censured, however, were no apologists for slaveholding. They never sought to justify their course while in the United States, by appeals to the Bible in behalf of slavery. They did not return to corrupt the religious sentiment of England. Far otherwise. They retained the views on slavery which they had professed previous to their visit to America, and, for eleven years, have been zealously co-operating with their fellow Christians of all sects, to bring the churches they visited to repentance, and an abandonment of their guilty practices.

Since 1834, the remonstrances which have gone forth to the churches of America have been faithful and uncompromising, increasing in plainness and pungency, until it may be said that there is but one body of Christians in the United Kingdom of Great Britain that holds communion with the slaveholding churches of America. That body is the Free Church of Scotland, and, as we believe that the conduct of that body stands in close relation—the relation of cause and effect—to the acts of the Evangelical Alliance, we shall briefly exhibit it, as described

in its own records. Suffice it to say, then, that for the last twelve years there has been, on the part of the dissenting denominations of Great Britain, generally, a constantly advancing sentiment on the subject of non-fellowship with slaveholders—a sentiment that has led to an entire cessation of intercourse with the churches of America, involved in the guilt of slavery, save for the purpose of earnest remonstrance, with a view to turn them from the error of their way. Several bodies have formally declared their determination to cease altogether their communion and correspondence with those sinning churches; amongst these stands out, honourably conspicuous,—an example to all other bodies—the United Secession Synod of Scotland, whose resolution and report at the Assembly in May last we recommend to attentive perusal.

We must now refer, and we do so with unmingled pain, to a retrograde movement on the part of the Free Church of Scotland. What that movement was, shall be told in the words of that church herself. We have before us an authorized 'Summary of the proceedings of the Free Church of Scotland in reference to slavery in America.' In this pamphlet there is a brief history of a deputation sent by that church to America, immediately after the disruption. Let attention be given to the following passage:—

'The object of the deputation was partly to obtain information respecting the educational, missionary, and other schemes of the American churches; but, chiefly, to explain to brethren there, the causes of the recent disruption of 1843, and to *awaken their sympathies on behalf of the ministers and people, who suffered together, on that occasion, for conscience sake.* The deputies to America had much friendly intercourse with Christians of all denominations, and particularly with the *Presbyterian churches.* They *had no scruple* in this, although they *were aware* that these churches did not act upon the rule of excluding slaveholders from communion; and, *upon this principle*, when they went to the *southern states*, they did not hesitate to cultivate the acquaintance of ministers and congregations of the Presbyterian churches there, *notwithstanding the admitted fact that slaveholders might be members.* Both before the visit of the deputies, and through their means, considerable sums were sent to this country by congregations and private Christians in America, *including the southern as well as the northern states.* Thus this church was brought into connexion with the churches of America, whose liberality and sympathy she experienced.'—pp. 3, 4.

This, it must be admitted, is a candid confession. The Free Church of Scotland has herself recorded the fact, that she deliberately sent her delegates to the slave-holding churches of the United States, to awaken their sympathies on behalf of her



ministers and people, who had suffered for conscience sake. These delegates had 'much friendly intercourse with Christians of all denominations, and *particularly with the Presbyterian churches.*' Two of them,—the Rev. Messrs. Lewis and Chalmers,—attended the sittings of the Old School General Assembly, at Louisville, Kentucky, and were permitted to lay the objects of their mission before that assembly. One of these gentlemen (Mr. Lewis,) has, since his return, published his '*Impressions of America and the American Churches.*' He shall describe the temper of the assembly on the question of slavery. After referring to the very cordial reception given to himself and colleague he says:—

'As much as our hearts were gladdened by this kindly welcome, so much more were we cast down by *the reception which the assembly gave to the question of slavery.* An overture came up from some of the Presbyteries of the free States, and an attempt was made to bring on a discussion: *but the discussion was refused by a majority of 117 to 69.* The southern members, when they heard of the intention of bringing the matter forward, gave notice in open assembly that they would hold a *caucus*, the name given in the States to an extraordinary political meeting, in the gallery, after the assembly had dismissed. So strong is the feeling on the part of the southern ministers, that one of them, *the most popular preacher in the slave States*, privately declared to a friend, that *if slavery were abolished, he would go to Texas*—for what purpose, unless to enjoy the luxury of being served by slaves?—a singular proof of the attachment in the slave States (rather, we should say, of the Presbyterian church) to slavery, when a minister of the gospel (?) could thus speak to a brother minister.'—*Lewis's Impressions*, pp. 296, 297.

'On two occasions \* \* \* I was called to address the assembly; on one to preach before it, and on the other to address it on the subject of *Missions.*'—p. 298. \*

'The assembly, strange to tell, was without any question of interest, *the slavery one being TABOOED.*'—p. 299.

Mr. Lewis's ideas of slavery are condensed into the following brief and very singular passage:—

'Slavery is the foul spot in the condition of the United States, as the *depressed condition of our working classes* is the *foul spot* in Old England.'—p. 409.

Having favoured us with a glimpse into the General Assembly, Mr. Lewis very correctly states the conduct of that body on the question of slavery, since the year 1818, when the assembly erased from the books of the '*Discipline of the Presbyterian Church in the United States,*' the following testimony against slavery, adopted in 1794; viz., 'All those who are concerned in bringing any of the human race into slavery, or in *retaining*



them in it; all who *keep, sell, or buy* slaves, are *man-stealers*, guilty of the *highest kind of theft*, and *sinner of the first rank.* When this testimony was expunged, another was substituted, declaring slavery a '*moral evil.*' Now let us hear Mr. Lewis.

'The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church some years ago voted slavery to be a '*great moral evil;*' but *no practical step* has yet been taken by it, as a church, towards its *extinction*, although many such lie before it. If unprepared for the step of the Associate Reformed Synod, or even of the Methodist body, there lies at the door, crying for redress, *not only the sin of slavery* itself, but *the fruits* of the sin of slavery, in the separation of husband from wife, still legal,—of parents from children, the legal nullity of the marriage relation—and the abominable legal prohibition, in many States, to teach the negro to read and write.' (These foul blots, let it be remembered, Mr. Lewis compares to the depressed condition of the working classes in England!) 'All these things lie unprotected against by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, though this last is a plain violation of its freedom as a church. On these subjects *they have never once approached the legislature, or sought to rouse the moral sentiments of their congregations.*'

Such was the assembly before which Mr. Lewis delivered an address on the subject of Missions, and presented the claims of the Free Church of Scotland. On what condition was Mr. Lewis allowed to sit in that assembly, or even to travel through the Southern States? We answer,—*Profound silence on the subject of slavery.* On his return to Scotland, Mr. Lewis told his brethren in the free presbytery of Dundee (we quote from an authorized report of his speech on the occasion), that '*the moment the ministers of the Southern States spoke out on the subject of slavery, their usefulness would be destroyed; indeed, the moment I myself had spoken out, I would have been TURNED OUT OF THE COUNTRY.*' On what further condition were the Scottish delegates allowed to present themselves before the slave-holding Presbyterians of America? Again we answer,—On condition that those slave-holding Presbyterians were recognised as in full Christian communion and ecclesiastical fellowship with the Free Church of Scotland. To the honour of Scotland be it told, that there were a few in the Free Church who mourned over the guilty compact thus deliberately entered into with '*man-stealers—men guilty of the highest kind of theft, and sinners of the first rank.*' At the sitting of the General Assembly of the Free Church, in 1844, overtures were presented from the Synods of Lothian and Tweeddale, and Glasgow and Ayr, praying, 'That the assembly would take into serious consideration the duty of this church, transmitting to the Presbyterian

churches of America *an earnest remonstrance in reference to the sin of slavery*, so generally practised in the Southern States of that republic.' Accordingly, a committee was appointed by the assembly; and on the 11th of September, that committee gave in a report, couched in the mildest possible language, and concluding with a declaration that the question of slavery should be no bar to the 'subsisting intercourse;' but that, on the contrary, 'all opportunities of drawing closer the bonds of fellowship ought to be embraced.' This report was transmitted to America by Dr. Henry Grey, the moderator, and was answered by the General Assembly of the United States, from Cincinnati, May 27th, 1845. This answer was never read to the Assembly of the Free Church at its late sitting in Edinburgh. The clerk announced the letter, and was about to read it; but Dr. Candlish stepped up to the table, and took the document out of his hands; and it was merely *intimated* that an answer had been received. It was remitted to *the committee*, with instructions to prepare a 'reply.' A short extract from the American document will not be unacceptable. After commending the 'Christian candour'!! of the delegates to America, the question of slavery referred to in the report of the Free Church already alluded to is taken up, and thus disposed of:—

'We are gratified exceedingly with the spirit of candour and enquiry which pervades your document on the subject of slavery, and leads us to hope that we shall soon be able to acquaint our noble brethren in Scotland with the true position of the Presbyterian church in this country.

'That responsibility for the evils of American slavery is shared by our brethren of Great Britain to some extent—that you are restrained from peremptory decision on the question of our particular duty, by ignorance of facts and circumstances, and that you appreciate so much the difficulties of our position, as to admit that a different course from that of the British churches may be justified among us for the present, are generous sentiments and enlightened Christian moderation, which prove to us that the Free Church of Scotland is as much ennobled by elevation above the prejudices that surround her, as by a memorable Exodus from the oppression that enthralled her. Could we allay excitement, and restrain impatience, and correct misunderstanding among our brethren of the British churches, we have no doubt that our course in this most delicate and difficult subject would be so entirely approved, that no intimation of ultimate severance on this account would any more alloy the happiness which your correspondence affords.'

Accompanying this answer was the deliverance of the American Assembly on the subject of slavery, at the same sitting. We cannot refrain from giving an extract from this document,



and also the resolutions adopted on the same occasion, which were, likewise, a part of the communication to the Free Church Assembly.

'That slavery existed in the days of Christ and his apostles is an admitted fact. That they did not denounce the relation itself as sinful, as inconsistent with Christianity; that slaveholders were admitted to membership in the churches organized by the apostles; that whilst they were required to treat their slaves with kindness, and as rational, accountable, immortal beings, and if Christians, as brethren in the Lord, they were not commanded to emancipate them; that slaves were required to be 'obedient to their masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, with singleness of heart as unto Christ, are facts which meet the eye of every reader of the New Testament. This Assembly cannot, therefore, denounce the holding of slaves as necessarily a heinous and scandalous sin, calculated to bring upon the church the curse of God, without charging the apostles of Christ with conniving at such sin, introducing into the church such sinners, and thus bringing upon them the curse of the Almighty.'

The resolutions are as follow :—

'Resolved, 1st, That the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in the United States was originally organized, and has since continued the bond of union in the church upon the conceded principle that *the existence of domestic slavery*, under the circumstances in which it is found in the southern portion of the country, *is no bar to Christian communion*.

'2nd, That the petitions that ask the Assembly to make the holding of slaves in itself a matter of discipline, do virtually require this judicatory to dissolve itself, and abandon the organization under which, by the divine blessing, it has so long prospered. The tendency is evidently to separate the northern from the southern portion of the church; a result which every good citizen must deplore as tending to the dissolution of the union of our beloved country, and which every enlightened Christian will oppose as bringing about a ruinous and unnecessary schism between brethren who maintain a common faith.'

These resolutions were carried by a vote of 168 to 13.

The Rev. James Macbeth, of Glasgow, in an admirable pamphlet on the proceedings of the late General Assembly of the Free Church, thus comments on the keeping back of these documents from the Assembly, in May last.

'Mark the circumstance,' he says, 'that though two very important documents had come to hand—they were both kept out of sight; and the debate closed *without their being seen*—the letter, namely, or reply from the American Church to us, and the deliverance of the American Presbyterian Assembly, which accompanied it. Let this be pondered, and kept before the mind. It may admit of explana-



tion, and I do not lay very great stress on it. Surely, to ask the Assembly to approve of the report, very meagre, as Dr. Candlish well called it, while two chief facts on which the report necessarily proceeded, were kept out of view, was something like asking the Assembly to take a leap in the dark. The committee had in its hands a reply from the criminated party, giving some insight into that party's state of mind—containing evidence that the charges brought against it were wholly unfounded, or at least greatly exaggerated; or, on the other hand, establishing against the party at the bar a dogged resolution to hold on in its improper course: unquestionably these two documents were necessary parts of a judgment in acquittal; yet, wonderful to say, they were both, I shall not say concealed, but kept back. No excuse whatever was assigned for this. An excuse was made, indeed, for the committee not being ready with a reply to the letter; and very likely it was found difficult to reply to such a communication. 'Now, sir,' said Dr. Candlish, 'I feel that this report is somewhat meagre. When you are to answer a formal letter from a church, *it plainly must be done by a little circumlocution*, and the usual phraseology of friendly intercourse, and therefore it will take some pains!' This evidently was no reason for not reading the letter that had come to hand. Is it possible to avoid believing that the reply from across the Atlantic would have been read, *if it had been creditable* to those from whom it came; if it had contained any avowal on their part of a resolution to break the slave-laws; if it had not been such as would have strongly tended to sway the Assembly's conclusion, and to convince the house that the moment for excision had fully come. It is impossible to drive the suspicion from the mind that there are expressions in that letter which could not well bear the light of a Scottish sky, nor be read on the floor of a Free Assembly previous to that debate.'

A short extract from the reply sent by the Assembly of the Free Church to the letter and deliverance from America, thus carefully concealed from the Assembly, will show the ground taken by that church in May, 1846.

'We do not concur in opinion with those who think that *the mere fact of slaveholding* should in itself, under all circumstances, be considered as a heinous sin, *calling for the discipline of the church*, and who would require us to renounce all friendly intercourse with you, and to offend and insult you, by rejecting the tokens of your sympathy with us in our trials, because you do act upon that principle in your government of Christ's house according to his Word. We have reason, also, to apprehend, from recent experience in our own country, that the 'indiscriminate denunciations' of which you speak, have a tendency only 'to perpetuate and aggravate the evils which they profess to remedy.'

The Assembly which adopted this reply was edified by speeches from Drs. Candlish, Cunningham, and Duncan, in

defence of continued communion with slave-holding churches. Their revised speeches are before us, and we find it hard to resist the temptation to enter upon an examination of them. They exhibit lamentable ignorance, or, if not ignorance, a wilful perversion, of the facts relating to the state of the American churches, and a fearfully bold determination to wrest the Holy Scriptures for the purpose of vindicating the Christianity of slaveholders. To exclude slaveholders from ecclesiastical fellowship is, in Dr. Candlish's opinion, 'an extreme position,'— 'a new pitch of perfection in morality never before dreamt of.' The relation of the church in America to slavery, 'is somewhat similar to the relation in which this church (the Free Church) might stand to an alleged *abuse*, said to be prevalent in some one portion, *or corner*, of our territory.' Dr. Duncan enlightened the Assembly, by defining the distinction between *slave-holding* and *slave-hiring*; the former he declared *a sin*, but the latter, not only innocent, but laudable. He hoped this distinction would be pointed out in the Assembly's deliverance. Dr. Cunningham waxed very bold, and said, 'I have not the slightest hesitation in stating *my decided conviction*, that the apostles of our Lord and Master admitted slaveholders to the table of the Lord, and to all the privileges of the church—that is to say, men standing in the legal relation of masters to servants, and entitled to treat them with legal impunity as slaves, if they chose, and even to put them to death. I say these men were admitted to the Lord's table, and to the enjoyment of all Christian privileges.' These and similar sentiments were loudly cheered by the Assembly.

The Rev. Mr. Macbeth moved for the exclusion of slaveholders from the pulpits and communion table of the Free Church, but could find no seconder for his resolution—so overwhelming and absolute was the authority of the three personages we have named. Such in brief is the course of the Free Church of Scotland in the subject of religious fellowship with slaveholders. The leading members of that church were among the originators of the Evangelical Alliance, and will be found attending the earliest meetings convened for the purpose of bringing about the conference finally held in London in August last. We need not attempt to show the deep interest the Free Church had in the decisions (if any were given) of the Alliance, on the question of slavery.

Let us now trace the course of the Alliance on this subject. No reference appears to have been made to the topic during the sittings of the committee at Liverpool; but at the meeting of the aggregate committee, held in Birmingham, April, 1846, the following resolution was carried, viz.:—



'That while this Committee deem it unnecessary and *inexpedient* to enter into any question at present on the subject of *slaveholding*, or on the difficult circumstances in which *Christian brethren* may be placed in countries where *the law of slavery* prevails; they are of opinion that invitations ought not to be sent to individuals who, whether by their own fault or otherwise, may be in *the unhappy position of holding their fellow-men as SLAVES*.'—*Minutes, &c.*, p. 6.

It strikes us as somewhat singular, that this extraordinary resolution should have for its proposer the Rev. Dr. Candlish. We can account for the fact of a resolution on the subject of slavery being submitted to the committee, for we know that a remonstrance against the admission of slaveholders was sent to it by the Glasgow Emancipation Society, and that the London Anti-slavery Society also addressed an earnest and faithful letter to that body; but how Dr. Candlish could reconcile it with consistency to refuse to invite those whom he had openly fellow-shipped in Edinburgh, and whom he had represented as 'standing in a position, in some respects, of high superiority,' even to the Free Church, we cannot so easily understand. We have heard it said, and have reason to believe, that if Dr. Candlish had not brought forward the resolution we have just cited, another, and a much stronger one would have been introduced; and that knowing this, the doctor came to the rescue. To get the Birmingham committee to take the ground of the Free Church, and openly to recognise the Christianity of the slaveholder as unexceptionable, was what the Scotch divine would have liked, but was clearly impracticable. To prevent the committee from passing a resolution which would have been a virtual condemnation of the Free Church, was what the Doctor above all things else desired to avert; and hence the resolution referred to. It was the *tertium quid*. We shall not stay to criticise this resolution. Like every similar attempt to please all parties, it pleased no party. We have heard men of all opinions on the subject of slavery, condemn it. The mover's great ally, Dr. Chalmers, treats it with little courtesy, and no commendation. In a pamphlet, the title of which we have placed at the head of this article, he says:—

'We *regret* the resolution at Birmingham of April the 1st, of withholding invitations from those 'who, whether by their own fault or otherwise, may be in the unhappy position of holding their fellow-men as slaves.' If not by their own fault, the laying on of such a stigma is an act of cruelty and injustice to those ministers, of whom we doubt not there is a number in the southern States of the American Union, who mourn over slavery and all its abominations. These form the very class who were the most likely to send over their representatives to this country. *But even as to those who are in fault, though*



we deem it probable that few of them would have ventured to make their appearance, yet we say it with all sincerity—the more of them the better \* \* \* \*. There is a party of *injudicious* abolitionists in America who have greatly *distempered* and *retarded* the cause of emancipation; and let us not give way to the *fanatic outcry* that they are attempting to excite throughout the *misled* and *deluded* multitudes of *our own land*.'—pp. 38—40.

We come now to the assembling of the great conference in London, in the month of August, which was attended by between *sixty* and *seventy* delegates from the United States. We have before us the authorised 'Minutes of the Proceedings of the Conference.' On examining these, we find the question of slavery first mooted on Thursday, the 27th August, being the twelfth session of the conference. At a previous session, it had been moved by the Rev. J. A. James, that 'correct information should be obtained on such subjects as 'the growth of popery;' 'the state of infidelity;' 'the public observance of the Lord's day,' and 'the amount of the existing means of Christian education;' with a view to 'the stimulating of Christians to such efforts as the exigencies of the case may demand, by *giving forth its views in regard to them*, rather than carrying those views out by an organization of its own.'—(Minutes of Proceedings, p. 23.)

On the 27th, Rev. W. Patterson moved, Rev. James Pringle seconded, that the following article be added, '*Facts relating to slavery, and the condition of our brethren in bonds in every part of the world.*' This amendment appears to have found no favour with the conference, as it was, by consent, withdrawn. On the 28th, Rev. Dr. Steane introduced the third portion of the paper prepared by the select sub-committee, concerning 'General Organization.' On which, Rev. Dr. Schmucker moved, Rev. Dr. Bunting seconded, 'That the Alliance shall consist of those persons *in all parts of the world*, who shall concur in the principles and objects adopted by the conference,' &c; upon which, Rev. J. H. Hinton moved, Rev. Joshua V. Himes, of Boston, United States, seconded, 'That in the first clause, after the words 'those persons,' the words 'not being slaveholders,' be inserted. The subject of slavery, and of the admissibility of slaveholders to the Evangelical Alliance was now fairly introduced. The Minutes of Proceedings do not inform us who took part in the discussion of this amendment; but from other sources we gather, both the substance of the remarks offered by the mover and seconder, and of those who followed in the debate. Mr. Hinton did not consider himself responsible for the introduction of the amendment, or for the calamitous results which might follow. Those were responsible who were connected with the abominable system of slavery, and had nevertheless been

admitted as members of the Alliance. The resolution passed at Birmingham,—the pledged position of British Christians,—and the attitude of slaveholders themselves, required the adoption of the amendment. It would be monstrous, indeed, to admit a *man-stealer*, and at the same time exclude a man because he did not believe in water baptism. Mr. Himes showed the corrupting influence of slavery amongst all denominations of Christians in the United States, and, in earnest and emphatic tones, conjured the Conference to preserve its purity, and to bring the whole weight of its influence to bear against the dreadful system of slavery at present sustained and perpetuated by the church. At the conclusion of these addresses, the chairman, Sir Culling E. Smith 'called the attention of the audience to the *silence* and *calmness* manifested by the American brethren, and expressed his admiration of the grace of God in enabling them to listen to remarks which *must have cut them to the heart's core*, with so much Christian meekness.'

Let us glance at the subsequent debate. The Rev. T. Brainerd, a Presbyterian from the United States, expressed his sorrow that the subject had been introduced to disturb the delightful harmony which they had enjoyed. The Rev. Dr. Samuel Hanson Cox, of Brooklyn, New York, shared the regret which had been expressed by the preceding speaker. Rev. L. Pomeroy, from Bangor, in the state of Maine, a Congregationalist, claimed to be an abolitionist; but insisted that a *distinction* should be made between the *system* of slavery, and the *individuals* included in it. He would not offer an apology for slavery, but he was deeply anxious that the subject should be kept in *abeyance*, and not be suffered to resist the Alliance. Rev. T. Smyth, D.D., of Charleston, South Carolina, rose. This gentleman is an Irishman, but for sixteen or seventeen years has been a minister in the slave states of America. He obtained admission into the Alliance by stating, that the slaves in his house at Charleston were not *his* but his *wife's*! This plea, however, did not avail him in Belfast, where he was sojourning during the sittings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. He attended that assembly, but was never recognised by it, or introduced to it. In his speech before the Alliance Conference he opposed the introduction of the question of slavery. *It ought not to be thrust upon them.* The existence of the Alliance was hazarded by so doing. The question was *essentially political*, and its discussion would awaken all the *low, vulgar* feelings of *political animosity*. It was an invasion of the right and duty of *private judgment in the interpretation of Scripture*! Rev. William Patten, D.D., of New York, Presbyterian, referred to the Birmingham resolution, and assured his brethren



that, if it had been received in the United States *earlier*, it would have prevented the attendance of *numbers* who were then present. Before he left home, he had been told that the Alliance would be a great Anti-slavery Society; but he had said, no. *Letters* might be written to slaveholders, urging and arguing; but *never let slaveholding be the test of admission*. Rev. R. Wardlaw, D.D., of Glasgow, suggested an amendment, which would express the abhorrence in which the Alliance held slavery; but which would not make it a test of membership. Rev. Alexander Munro, of Manchester, Presbyterian, hoped that the Alliance would follow the spirit of the New Testament, which would lead them to remain silent. At this stage of the proceedings the assembly broke up for dinner. An eye-witness, writing to the 'Patriot' newspaper, thus describes the appearance of Freemasons' Hall at the time of the adjournment.

'The scene at this time is most exciting. The combatants have laid aside their armour, they have risen from the conflict, but it is only for a time. Groups are collected together; knots of disputants are talking loudly and decidedly; the hard words and not softer blows in Conference seem to have created the desire for keeping up the skirmish, and the words 'our laws,' 'freedom,' 'colonization,' 'colour,' 'public opinion,' are heard on every hand.'

We must now claim the serious attention of our readers, to something which took place during the interval between the adjournment for dinner, and the re-assembling of the Conference at five o'clock. The American members of the Conference absented themselves from the dinner-table. They gathered together in another part of the building, to decide upon the course they should adopt, in consequence of the introduction of Mr. Hinton's amendment. The result of their deliberations was, the preparation and signing of an 'explanatory statement.' In this document they set forth, that they attended the Alliance Conference on the invitation sent out by the Liverpool committee, in which invitation there was no allusion to the subject of slavery. They then proceeded to state, that on their arrival in London, their attention was directed to two resolutions passed by the London provisional committee, calling the special notice of the American brethren, to the resolution on the subject of slavery, adopted at the meeting of the aggregate committee at Birmingham.

'These resolutions,' say they, 'were on a *separate* paper, to which the attention of most of us was directed, but *we were not required to subscribe them, or to approve them*. We could not approve them. *Most of us made our verbal protest against them*. We regarded them as highly objectionable, and particularly for the following



reasons: 1. They were *irrelevant* to the matter in hand; 2. The resolutions came *too late*; 3. The first of the London resolutions is offensive to us as Americans; 4. The Birmingham resolution is calculated to *wound* the feelings of *unoffending* Christian brethren in the *slave-holding* states, and to retard the abolition of slavery.'

We deem it our duty to put on record the precise words in which this fourth and final reason is supported:—

'If Christian brethren, placed (in the terms of the resolution) 'by no fault of their own,' in an 'unhappy position,' involving strong temptations and severe trials, nevertheless conduct themselves worthily, they merit on that account, in our view, *the sympathy* of their fellow-Christians; and, especially, of those who are sincerely seeking the removal of the great evil from which their temptations and trials arise. *This is not the time to inquire* whether the American churches have, or have not, all done their duty in regard to this subject; but there seems to us to be a singular impropriety in singling out such brethren for the stigma of exclusion from Christian fellowship. In their 'difficult circumstances,' they need the encouragement and support of the counsels and prayers of their fellow-Christians; and, if slavery is ever to be abolished in the southern States of America, *we need such men to take the lead in the movement!* There is in these circumstances, in our view, weighty reason, *not* for non-intercourse, but *for closer Christian union*. It is well known to us, that many Christian slave-holders are, in their principles and feelings, entirely opposed to slavery; and are prepared to make all the efforts and sacrifices in their power for the removal of the evil, *as soon as practicable*. But it ought to be known to our European brethren, that slavery cannot at once be abolished in any State of the American Union, except by the legislature of that State; that the citizens of non-slave-holding States can only act on the subject by moral influence, and that this influence is to be exerted chiefly on and through Christians in the slave-holding community. It is because we have great confidence in the piety and intelligence, and in *the constantly increasing number of godly men in the slave-holding States!* that we look with increasing hope for the entire removal of American slavery. We deeply sympathise with these brethren under the heavy responsibilities they are called to bear. *Our duty, no less than our Christian affection, IMPELS US TO MAINTAIN INTIMATE RELATIONS WITH THEM;* and we could not, without a grievous offence against the best hopes of religion and humanity in the south, as well as against our own consciences, *consent to any action which would imply a want of CHRISTIAN CONFIDENCE in them, or which might ENDANGER our amicable and fraternal relations with this portion of the American church.'*

This statement bears the signature of thirty-two of the American members of the Conference, and is dated Friday the 28th of August, the day on which Mr. Hinton brought forward his amendments.

The Conference re-assembled at five o'clock on this day, and we are told that the American members returned with a firmer step and more cheerful countenance. The debate on Mr. Hinton's amendment was resumed. Rev. W. W. Ewbank, of Liverpool, Episcopalian, was decidedly in favour of the admission of slaveholders. The Rev. James Pringle, Rev. Dr. Urwick, Dr. Patton, President Emory of the United States, and others, addressed the Conference. The excitement grew intense. There were evidently two parties in the meeting, resolutely determined to maintain their ground, respectively. In these circumstances Mr. Hinton consented to withdraw his amendment, *pro tem.*, and late in the evening a committee of forty-five was appointed to take the whole subject into mature consideration, and report the result of their deliberations to the general body.

This committee assembled as early as eight o'clock, on Saturday morning the 29th. On the coming together of the Conference at ten, special prayer was offered on behalf of the committee then sitting in another room, 'that the Holy Spirit might guide them to an harmonious and satisfactory issue.' In the course of the morning it was reported that the committee had not arrived at a conclusion, and that they advised an adjournment of the Conference to Monday. The Conference, however, proceeded with other business, and sent a message to the committee, to take ample time for the mature consideration of the question before them. It was not till late in the evening, that the committee made its report, which was presented to the Conference by Dr. F. A. Cox, of London, and read by Dr. S. H. Cox, of New York. It was as follows:—

'That, the Committee recommend that the *amendment* of the Rev. J. H. Hinton should be withdrawn, and that the following resolution be recommended for adoption to the Conference:—

'That in respect to the necessity of personal holiness, the Alliance are of opinion that it is recognised in the Article of the Basis,—On the work of the Spirit; and in reference to various social evils existing in countries within the circle of this Alliance, such as the profanation of the Lord's-day, intemperance, duelling, and *the sin of slavery*, they commend these and similar evils to *the consideration* of the branches; trusting that they will study to promote the general purity and the Christian honour of this confederation by all proper means. *And in respect especially to the system of slavery*, and every other form of oppression in any country, the Alliance are unanimous in deploring them, as in many ways obstructing the progress of the gospel; and *express their confidence*, that no branch will admit to membership *slaveholders*, who, by their *own fault*, continue in that position, *retaining their fellow-men in slavery*, from regard to their own interests.



‘Rev. J. H. Hinton finally withdrew his amendment, and moved, Rev. A. T. Hopkins seconded, That the report now received be adopted. Rev. Isaac Nelson moved, James Stanfield, Esq. seconded, That whereas it is impossible for this Conference to legislate for particular cases or exceptions, *no slaveholder be admitted to any branch of the Alliance.*

‘The amendment was negatived. The motion was carried.—*Minutes of Proceedings*, p. 36.

Such was the decision of the Alliance Conference, on Saturday night, the 29th of August. It will be seen that by this proceeding the Conference did not absolutely exclude *any* slaveholder, while it made special provision for a particular class of slaveholders. In fact, it refused to pass any law upon the question—save to open the door to men living in the practice of slavery in every part of the world, simply expressing, ‘its confidence that no branch would admit to membership slaveholders who were such *by their own fault*, and from regard to their own interest.’ It should be remembered, too, that at the time this report was adopted, it was the settled resolve of the Conference to form an Œcumenical Alliance, and that this resolution was adopted as a part of the general organization of that Alliance: so that, in effect, it was a deliberate decision in favour of the admission of slaveholders; containing no prohibition against the admission to membership of any slaveholder whatever, provided he could sign the doctrinal basis. This report was recommended and passed, in the face of the explanatory statement laid before the Conference by thirty-two of the American members, declaring *their* unalterable intention to maintain ‘intimate relations’ with the slaveholding churches of the United States, and to ‘consent to no action that *implied* a want of Christian confidence in those churches,’ ‘or, which might ‘endanger their amicable and fraternal relations with them.’ Such was the state of things on the 29th. The Sabbath ensued, and the Conference re-assembled on Monday, the 31st. The effect of what had taken place, we will describe in the words of a member of the Alliance, in a letter to the ‘Patriot,’ Sept. 24th. This gentleman, who writes under the signature of ‘Pacificator,’ (but whose identity is no secret to us,) and whose letter is a defence of the Alliance, says:—

‘Whatever grounds of objection may be taken by warm anti-slavery men in this country to this resolution, the fact was, that *still stronger objections* were raised by the Americans themselves. No sooner had they time to look *deliberately* at the terms in which it was expressed, than they convened private meetings of their own countrymen (between Saturday night and Sunday morning), and on Monday morning delivered the most earnest expressions of *disappro-*



bation against the entire article. They represented that they *could not face their countrymen and churches with such a resolution staring them in the face*; and many of them would rather retire from the Alliance than attempt it. In stating their objections to it, *the fact came out most glaringly*, that it was not the *unwilling and reluctant*, but the *entire mass* of professing slaveholders with whom they sympathized: and nothing would satisfy them but an entire dropping of all reference to the subject of slavery.'

Such is the language of one whose Christian integrity and truthfulness are above suspicion amongst those who have the privilege of knowing him. We have derived information from many other sources, confirmatory of the truth of this statement, which, it is enough to say, has never been contradicted. Another member of the Alliance, and an eye witness, thus describes the scene presented by the Conference on Monday morning.

'Care rests on every countenance. Depressed looks, and anxious faces, are seen on every hand. It is quite evident, that the settlement of Saturday night was not the decision of calm and cool reflection, so much as a hasty compliance—for union's sake, under intense excitement—with that which involved compromise and concession. Sir Culling is pale and restless, the secretaries grave and full of foreboding; while the leaders of the three sections are all earnest in conversation upon the evident course affairs must take during this sitting. Nothing could be more unfortunate than the present position of affairs. It is thought that the Alliance must be broken up; and the protest shows the strong feelings of the main body of the foreign delegates. These all deplore the introduction of the question at all; and though the resolution was adopted almost unanimously, it is now the determination of the Americans to reopen the subject. They say, most positively, that though they voted in favour of it (the resolution) on Saturday, they must oppose it with all their force to-day; for *there can be no American branch which will exclude the slaveholder*. \* \* \* Dr. Cox (of new York), who spoke for the Americans, remarked, that with *one exception*, (the Rev. J. V. Himes), they were all *agreed*; they thought upon mature reflection, that the question of slavery must be kept in abeyance. The question might be asked, does not this break up the general organization? He (Dr. Cox), thought not. *Their doctrinal basis was decided*; their objects were fixed. *The test of membership must be left open*, and in the mean time, local organizations must be carried out, *at the discretion* of their respective supporters, and in accordance with circumstances. If the American branch should admit the slaveholder, and the British branch *will not*, when they next meet, they must determine to go on separately. It must be an open question.'

These remarks of Dr. Cox, it will be seen in the sequel, determined the course of the Conference. We return to the

'Minutes of Proceedings.' They show, that on the confirmation of the minutes of the previous sitting, Dr. Bunting moved that the report adopted on Saturday night should be 'placed among the *miscellaneous* resolutions, and not under the head of general organization.' The Hon. Justice Crampton moved 'that the concluding clause, commencing, 'And in respect especially to the system of slavery,' &c., be rescinded.' The Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel moved, 'That the whole matter involved in the motion (of Dr. Bunting), with the amendment proposed by Mr. Justice Crampton, be referred to the consideration of a committee, and that the committee consist of,' &c., whereupon, the amendment of the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Noel was carried, and a committee of fifty-two [comprising all the more influential members of the Conference) was nominated, and the meeting adjourned to the next day. Among the proceedings of Monday, and bearing date that day, we find a protest by the Rev. Alex. King, Congregationalist of Cork, from which we make the following extract :—

' With all due deference to the wisdom of this Conference, and with the most earnest and prayerful solicitude for the great object which its members are endeavouring to promote, I am constrained, by a clear and deep conviction of my duty to God and to my fellow-men, to record my dissent from the resolution adopted at the close of the session on Saturday evening last, *respecting slaveholders*.

' I respectfully enter my protest against that resolution,—

1. Because it was adopted amidst great excitement, when several members of the Conference were unable to make such inquiries concerning its practical bearings as they felt necessary to make before voting for its affirmation.

2. Because it excludes 'personal holiness' from the rules of admission to the Evangelical Alliance, and decides the right of membership by *matters of opinion*.

' 5. Because, taken in connexion with other propositions already adopted by this Conference, it constitutes the Evangelical Alliance, so as, practically, *to exclude conscientious and godly men, who have been living martyrs to the cause of freedom, and actually to admit slaveholders, who may choose to affirm, that their sin in holding their fellow men in bondage is not their own fault, or for their own advantage.*

Also the following, signed by twelve of the American members, and dated, like the former, August 31 :—

' *To the Conference now sitting in Freemasons' Hall.*

' The undersigned request that their names may be entered upon the minutes of the Conference, as dissenting from the minute upon the subject of slavery, adopted by the Conference on Saturday evening last :—



' Thomas Smyth, Erskine Mason, Edward P. Humphrey, R. T. Haines, Thomas Dewitt, John B. Adger, Sidney E. Morse, Ebenezer Mason, Robert Carter, M. B. Hope, Gorham D. Abbott, Robert Emory.'

The committee appointed on Monday morning, spent many anxious hours in deliberation on the matter submitted to them, and on Tuesday morning, September 1, were prepared with the following report, which was brought up by Sir Culling Eardley Smith, and presented to the Conference. We extract it without abridgement, as deserving, we will not for the present say on what account, the most serious consideration :—

' That on mature consideration of the entire subject remitted to them, the Committee recommend to the Conference :—

' 1. That the amendment of the Hon. Justice Crampton be finally withdrawn.

' 2. That *the resolution adopted on Saturday evening be rescinded.*

' 3. That the resolution submitted to the Conference by the Rev. Dr. Schmucker, and seconded by the Rev. Dr. Bunting, on the subject of ' General Organization,' be withdrawn, and the following submitted to the Conference in its stead :—

' That whereas brethren from the continents of Europe and America, as well as in this country, are unable, without consultation with their countrymen, to settle the detailed arrangements for their respective countries, it is expedient to defer the final and complete organization of the General Alliance, of which the foundation has now been laid, till another General Conference.

' That the members of the Alliance *be recommended* to adopt *such organization* in their several countries, as in their judgment may *be most in accordance with their* PECULIAR CIRCUMSTANCES, without involving the responsibility of one part of the Alliance for another ; on the understanding that brethren from each country now present shall act collectively in originating their respective national plans. That, in furtherance of the above plan, it be recommended, for the present, that an Organization be formed in each of the following districts, viz. :—

' 1. The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, exclusive of the North American British Colonies.

' 2. The United States of America.

' 3. The North American Colonies of Great Britain.

' 4. The Kingdoms of France, Belgium, and French Switzerland.

' 5. The North of Germany.

' 6. The South of Germany ; and German Switzerland.

' *That an official correspondence be maintained between the several Organizations, and that Reports of their proceedings be mutually interchanged, with a view to co-operation and encouragement in their common object.*

' That the next General Conference be held at such time and place as, by correspondence between the members of the Alliance in different



countries, and by the leadings of Divine Providence, shall hereafter be settled.

'Sir Culling Eardley Smith moved, Rev. J. H. Hinton seconded,  
'That the Report now presented be received—Carried.'

From the future minutes of the Conference we learn that the suggestions contained in the above report were literally adopted. Thus ended the proceedings of the Conference on the subject of slavery. On a review of these proceedings, we find,

'1. A resolution passed in the aggregate committee at Birmingham, that slaveholders shall not be invited to the Conference; yet calling them, nevertheless, 'Christian brethren,' and assuming on their behalf, that they might 'be in the unhappy position of holding their fellow-men as slaves, without any fault of their own.'

'2. Two resolutions passed by the London provisional committee, directing the special attention of the American brethren to the decision of the Birmingham committee.

'3. An uncontradicted statement of thirty-two American members, that 'these resolutions were on a separate paper—that they were not required, either to subscribe or *approve* them—that they *did not* approve them—and that most of them entered their verbal *protest against them*, as *highly objectionable*.

'4. That on the 27th August, the Conference refused to include the subject of slavery among the topics on which the Alliance should seek to obtain correct information; though it had previously resolved to collect facts on the subject of popery, infidelity, the observance of the Lord's day, and the state and prospects of Protestant missions.

'5. That on the 28th of August, the Conference refused to adopt an amendment, declaring the inadmissibility of slaveholders to membership in the Alliance.

'6. That on the same day, thirty-two of the American members of the Conference declared, that they were 'impelled by Christian duty and Christian affection, to maintain intimate relations with slaveholders, and would consent to no action' on the part of the Conference, 'which would imply a want of Christian confidence' in those slaveholders, or which 'might endanger their own amicable and fraternal relations' with them.

'7. That on the 29th of August, the Conference adopted *nem. con.* a resolution, classing slavery with the profanation of the Lord's day, intemperance and duelling; and restricting the action of the Alliance to the expression of its confidence, that the branches to be hereafter formed, would not admit to membership 'slaveholders, who by their own fault, or otherwise continued in that position from regard to their own interest;'—thereby establishing the doctrine, that a man may be an

innocent slaveholder, and from disinterested motives: and that this resolution was passed, without any notice being taken of the protest of the thirty-two American members, which declared that they would consent to no action which would imply a want of confidence in American professing slaveholders generally.

'8. That the American members, repenting of their vote in favour of this resolution, and determining to re-open the question, succeeded in inducing the Conference, on the 31st of August, to re-commit the whole subject to the consideration of a committee; which committee recommended that the said resolution should be rescinded.

'9. That on the 1st of September, the Conference taking into consideration the recommendation of the committee, resolved to adopt it, and did accordingly rescind the resolution of the 29th of August; and, further, that in order that the American members might go home perfectly free and uninfluenced, did resolve to postpone the organization of an Ecumenical Alliance, and to recommend to their adoption such an organization in their own country, 'as might, in their judgment, be *most in accordance with their peculiar circumstances*'—those American members having previously informed the Conference of their determination to maintain intimate relations with slaveholders, and to consent to no action implying a want of Christian confidence in them.

Our readers will bear witness that we have throughout this examination of the proceedings of the Alliance, gone to no source of information against which the slightest objection can lie. We have resorted only to the published and authorised records of that body for our facts, with two exceptions, in both of which instances we have taken the evidence of members of the Alliance; which evidence has been for months in print, and has not been impugned. We refer to the reports furnished to the 'Patriot' newspaper, and to the temperate letter of Pacifigator, intended to be a vindication of the Alliance from the accusations brought against it in Exeter Hall. Let those who will judge of the Alliance only by its own printed proceedings, take the above narrative of those proceedings, and draw their honest conclusions from it. For ourselves, having fairly stated the case, out of the papers issued from the office of the Alliance, we do not consider ourselves precluded from going to other sources for information and light upon the subject; and we might therefore, had we space, avail ourselves of various reports now before us. We cannot do this to the extent we desire, but we must crave attention to the following exposé from a speech delivered by a member of the Alliance, the Rev.



J. V. Himes, of America, at a great meeting in Liverpool, on the 19th of October, and reported in the 'Patriot :'

'A word in reference to the slave question in the Evangelical Alliance. The American delegates are influential men in their respective denominations. Those men are many of them members of slave-holding Synods or General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church. Well, what could we expect of men who will have to go to Philadelphia next spring, sit down with slaveholders, sing, pray, talk, and commune—what, I say, could we expect of such men here? Dr. Cox must be there, or else he will have to leave his connexion. Now, the doctor knew, that, if he took his position here, he would have to become citizenised in England; and it would not do for him, then, to have gone back to America. So with Dr. Smyth, Dr. Olin, and Dr. Baird; they all belong to slaveholding associations. Well, then, there were, besides, presidents of religious institutions. I had an opportunity of seeing the whole thing. In all the Committee meetings, where there was much anxiety, where we sat something like forty hours discussing a question which might have been easily settled—in all these Committee meetings, there were some of these presidents of academical institutions. Who do these men educate? Slaveholders' sons. What could you expect from such men as those in favour of the slave? They must either lose the slaveholders' sons from their institutions, or they must take the course which they did. Now, there is no mystery with these gentlemen themselves about the matter. Some of these delegates also were ministers of slave-holding states; and, had they voted against slavery here, when they went back they would have been Lynched. But, what made me feel most deeply of all, in this transaction, was the deception which was manifested in the explanations of the difficulties into which they were thrown. 'Here we are in difficulty,' said they. 'Difficulty! what is the matter?' 'Why, our brethren have stolen a great many men. They have established an institution to retain these men whom they have stolen; and they have thereby rendered it very difficult to get rid of them: therefore, in these peculiar circumstances, you must let us alone.' That is the plain English of the matter. Bishop Meade's letter was read—the letter which has been referred to to-night. It was listened to by the Rev. Mr. Bickersteth, who, as almost every body knows, is a gentleman of high integrity and piety; and it pained me to perceive how Mr. Bickersteth, with his kind and benevolent heart, was affected by that letter of Bishop Meade. I knew, all the time, that the sentiments it expressed were the sheerest deception and hypocrisy. I knew well the object. Bishop Meade stated that they were willing to emancipate their slaves, but could not, from the peculiar circumstances of the case. They brought out a number of cases, where the friends of the slave were puzzled, perplexed, and troubled about the question, and wanted to get rid of it, but could not. Well, now I knew better all the time, and every American who knows anything about slavery in the United states, knows the utter falsity of these statements. Why, let them take a journey to Canada, and take their slaves with them; and, when they go home, let them leave the slaves behind them, and they would be all safe. Queen Victoria is ready to take the whole of them. If they will give them up to-morrow, I will insure, on the



part of the English government, that they will take care of every man, woman, and child of them; or, in other words, the English government will put them in the way of taking care of themselves. There is another feature of the case respecting the American delegates which I wish to notice. The Alliance had a great and grand object in view, and many, both of our American and English friends were actuated, in the formation of that Alliance, by the desire of attaining this object. They expended a great deal of money, time, and labour, in the formation and establishment of that institution. Doubtless they were influenced by good motives in so doing, and desired to accomplish good. I certainly hold our English friends in the highest estimation for the labour and toil which they bestowed on that Alliance. I believe when the question of slavery was first introduced into the Alliance, almost every member of that body was disposed to object to the reception of slaveholders, or to give the influence of the institution in any way to the support of slavery. I affirm and maintain that you could not have obtained a class of representatives from America who would have been more opposed to the support of anti-slavery views, or more efficient in shielding slavery than the men who were chosen. Those who know the men in their various churches in America, know that I speak the truth in this matter. Well, when we came into our meetings, one quailed, and another yielded, and then another; and among them some men who, I thought, never would have yielded. I took them out, and conversed with them upon the matter, and said to them, 'How is this? Are we to be left alone—two or three of us—in the midst of a faithless majority? We supposed these Englishmen were all anti-slavery men.' 'Oh!' said they, 'but we must do something. It will not do to break up the Alliance; it will tear us all to pieces.' They first began to cower and quail; they then began to listen to the stories of these men. Then they began to say, 'Now we are under such and such circumstances, and we are placed so and so. If this resolution passes, it will break up the whole thing, and the Alliance is gone.' They had one great object in view; they had laboured hard, spent their money, time, and influence, all to bring about this one object, and they were not willing to give it up. There seemed to be the point. They had to choose between the rejection of their American brethren, as they came forward with their pro-slavery views and feelings, or else their own principles. There was no other alternative. 'Either we must reject the delegates, or we must reject the slave, and the anti-slavery interest; one or the other.' Forty hours were spent in considering how they could receive them both; how they could have two masters. They were puzzled how to serve their American masters who were defending slavery, and at the same time to serve the slave. The corrupting, demoralising influence of slavery was never more manifest—never achieved more in forty hours—never made greater havoc with conscience and moral integrity, since the world was made. After we could not obtain or sustain the amendment, that slaveholders should be rejected, they brought forward another question respecting those who were slaveholders not of their own fault, and so forth,—which you have all heard. I voted against that, because it was a compromising of the whole principle, and was worse than no resolution at all. Finding they

would not do any thing thoroughly, I was glad that they did not do any thing at all upon the question. I told them, however, this : 'The people of England and the people of America will take up this question. This is not the end of it.'

We consider this testimony of great value. Mr. Himes has for sixteen years been honourably conspicuous in the anti-slavery ranks in the United States, and we have heard but one opinion respecting him, that he is thoroughly conversant with the abolition movement, and is a man of deep sincerity and unsuspected moral integrity. We know, besides, that in the position which he nobly maintained in the Conference, he perilled, and, to a great extent, forfeited his influence and standing in that body, and, to use his own words, became 'a marked and persecuted man.' This gentleman—an American, and a person professing an intimate knowledge of every man of name and fame connected with the anti-slavery cause in the United States, says : 'I affirm and maintain, that you could not have obtained a class of representatives from America, who would have been more opposed to the support of anti-slavery views, or more efficient in shielding slavery, than the men who were chosen. Those who know the men in their various churches in America, know that I speak the truth in this matter.' Yet, we regret to find that Dr. Wardlaw has ventured to stand voucher for these men, and to say that 'the brethren from America were anti-slavery, like ourselves.' We believe that Dr. Wardlaw forgot, when he wrote these words, the speeches delivered on the 28th of August and the 1st of September; and the protests of the thirty-two 'American brethren,' on the 28th, and the protest of the twelve 'American brethren' on the 31st. Dr. Wardlaw has proved, by his own letters, compared with the speeches and official documents of the American members of the Alliance, that *his* views and *theirs* are utterly irreconcilable. Did not the Americans, throughout the whole of the proceedings on the question of slavery, point to the *laws* of the United States as an extenuation, if not a justification, of the slaveholders, with whom they declared their determination to remain in close Christian communion.' Yet, what says Dr. Wardlaw, in a letter to the 'Patriot,' which has been printed since we commenced writing this article?

'There are, in some of the southern States, laws prohibitory of the teaching of a slave to read, that is, prohibitory of bringing even within his reach, the saving instructions of the Word of God! *Is it conceivable, that any man calling himself a Christian can obey such a law?—that any man calling himself a Christian can consent, in compliance with the enactment of a human legislature, thus to damn the soul as well as bind the body of his immortal fellow-creature and fellow-sinner? Away with*



*the thought! Christian! let not the sacred designation be thus prostituted. He who acts such a part 'has denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.'* Do the churches of the north, then, make exceptions? or do they admit to their brotherly fellowship ministers and members from these states as well as from the rest—ministers and members who residing in these states, and holding slaves in these states, must be understood to be acting in obedience to their laws? else they would not be long there without being feelingly reminded where they were! Alas! how drugging the opiates—how searing the cauteries—that interest and custom administer to conscience. Such men may be found arguing, or attempting to argue, in support of slavery from the Bible; while there can be no doubt, that the real reason for their not wishing their slaves to read the Bible, is a secret fear lest in that blessed book they should discover (and how could they avoid discovering?) the principles of freedom, and asserting their right. And are we, in even the remotest possible degree, to associate ourselves with *laws and practices* so—I cannot find a word strong enough to express my reprobation of them—anti-Christian is too feeble—so *absolutely fiendish*? Is it not rather our incumbent duty, individually and collectively, in every possible way, to impress on our American brethren's minds the extraordinary mistake in principle (to give it its gentlest appellation), which the maintaining of such fellowship implies; and, 'whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear,' to keep our own hands clean, and not to 'implicate ourselves,' how remotely soever, in the 'merchandize of souls,' as well as of bodies? The plain truth, in my mind, is this,—I speak only for myself, whosoever else may adopt the sentiment—that *the cases which we might be disposed to describe and select, as constituting cases of exception are so very, very rare, that legislation for them would be ludicrous*, and the proposal of them in America would be received with either a smile at our simplicity, or a frown at our presumption. It could only be regarded as an indirect and unmanly way of doing what had much better be done openly and honestly at once—declining their fellowship. I fear it must come to this. I have feared it all along.'

Such is the language of Dr. Wardlaw. Yet, the very men who are in full and affectionate communion with persons thus spoken of, are the men described by him as being 'anti-slavery like ourselves.'

But we must hasten to a close, and reserve to a future occasion many facts which we had intended to refer to. We must not omit, however, to notice the manner in which the conduct of the Alliance has been viewed beyond the immediate pale and influence of its own body. The religious press, with a few solitary exceptions, has spoken of its proceedings in terms of severe censure. Amongst the journals entitled to the warm gratitude of the anti-slavery public of Great Britain, the *Patriot* stands pre-eminent. The able leading articles, the faithful and uncontradicted summaries, and copious reports of public meetings which have appeared in that paper, have rendered immense



service to the cause of truth and freedom.\* This journal has been most efficiently seconded by the vigorous pen of the uncompromising editor of the *Nonconformist*. An appeal has also been made to the anti-slavery feeling and principles of the country, by means of public meetings; and the verdict has been all but unanimous, in condemnation of the compromise of which the Alliance was guilty. In London, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, Norwich, Newcastle, Edinburgh, Aylesbury, Bristol, and other places,—before audiences unprecedented in numbers,—the question has been submitted. Did the Alliance prove faithless to its principles and professions on the subject of slavery, or did it not? and out of thirty thousand persons so appealed to,—in meetings perfectly free and open, and to which the friends of the Alliance were in every instance specially invited, only seven individuals have been found to vote in the negative. These meetings were commenced immediately after the termination of the sittings of the Alliance, and as the principal speakers at them have been somewhat unsparingly denounced in certain quarters, we will say a word respecting the men, and the motives by which we believe they were actuated. Of one of these gentlemen, at all events, we can speak with confidence.

Mr. George Thompson has been long known to us, and few men have rendered more important service to the abolition cause. We worked with him, in our own anti-slavery struggle, and were often astonished at his prodigious labours, as well as gratified by his deep earnestness and commanding eloquence. We have since watched his career with interest, and have never known him to swerve from the course to which he was pledged, or to fail in its advocacy. Whatever others may have done, he has been faithful in all exigences of the great question; and on no occasion has he rendered more valuable service to the slave, or done himself more honour, than in his recent exposure of the temporising and unworthy policy of the Evangelical Alliance. That his exposures have been unsparing, his denunciations severe, we readily admit, nor do we blame him on this account. The course pursued was not to be characterised by soft and measured terms. In our solemn judgment it was faithless to the highest and noblest cause, the abandonment of ground deliberately taken, treacherous to principle, and full of cruelty to the slave. His labours, which few other men could have dis-

\* Can it be true, as we have heard it whispered, that certain persons who are concerned in the management and control of the 'Patriot,' have laid an interdict upon the further discussion of the question in the editorial columns? If so, it is time for the proprietors of that paper to look about them.

charged, have served to commend him still further to our respect and admiration.

Of his associate, Mr. Lloyd Garrison, we will only say, that the disposition evinced by some of our countrymen, to receive and retail the slanders of American slave holders and their abettors, does not redound to our national credit. We do not concur with Mr. Garrison in the propriety of all his measures; we have heard language from his lips which we could not adopt,—phrases and modes of speech to which we should take strong exception. But, notwithstanding this, we protest against the construction put on his language by some of our contemporaries, as wanting in justice to him, and in an equitable regard to the whole facts of the case. What has Mr. Garrison said of ‘American religion’ severer or more denunciatory than the following words of Dr. Adam Clarke, when referring to the maintenance of slavery by a people professing the Christian faith. ‘Oh! ye most flagitious of knaves and worst of hypocrites, cast off at once the mask of religion, and deepen not your endless perdition by professing the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, while ye continue in this traffic.’\*

In the verdict returned at the meetings to which we have referred, we perfectly agree. We cannot but regard the conduct of the Alliance, from first to last, as a deliberate compromise, step by step, of the demands of truth, the rights of the slave, and the requirements of the law of Christ. The concessions of the British brethren in the Conference were, in our judgment, far more censurable than any thing said, done, or attempted by the American delegates. The British members were an overwhelming majority. They were men who,—scores and hundreds of them,—had made a loud profession of attachment to uncompromising anti-slavery principles. They were men who, many of them, had, in anti-slavery conventions, in the years 1840 and 1843, declared that there ought to be no religious communion with slaveholders; and yet, by subtle evasions, and imaginary cases, they sought to justify their refusal to exclude from their Alliance those for whom in the present day no excuse, which is in the least degree valid, can be set up. They did this to preserve a good understanding with men who left them no room to doubt of their pro-slavery sentiments, for they placed them on record, in documents which the Alliance have themselves given to the world. We will not trust ourselves to characterise such conduct as we think it deserves; but will rather let it be described by Dr. Andrew Reed, who was a member of that body, but has set a bright example—not with-

\* The Christian Penny Magazine. Nov. p. 301.



out its effect—by retiring from it, and assigns the following, amongst other reasons, for so doing :

‘ The final reason weighing on my mind connects itself with the question of slavery. Undoubtedly, the Alliance were at liberty to say whether they would deal with that question. They resolved, however, to take action on it; and in my judgment the course pursued is the most objectionable that it was possible to adopt. The Conference resolved unanimously, and under a strange ecstasy of mind, that slavery may be not only legal, but right; not only right, but in certain circumstances beneficial even to the slave. They afterwards met to rescind that resolution; not, be it observed, to meet the wishes of a small British party, who might have thought on reflection, that it yielded too much as against the slave; but to satisfy a controlling party, who thought it yielded too little! And, finally, it stultified itself by agreeing to expunge its own minutes, and to persuade itself and the public, that it had taken no action on a subject on which, in fact, it had been more deeply engaged than any other.

‘ This, I think, is doing gratuitous and incalculable evil. The subject is introduced to be trifled with and postponed. The vital interests of the slave are damaged, and, as far as possible, made questionable, and this great country—made penitent by the grace of Heaven for the monstrous wrong it had done, and giving evidence to the world of its sincerity, by inflicting on itself a penalty which stands alone in history—is made to take a lower and a most humiliating position before the eyes of all nations, and especially before those of France and America. If good is to be set against evil, the Alliance must realise a larger amount of good than the most sanguine of its friends will readily ascribe to it, to outweigh this enormous evil.

‘ Every member of the Alliance, as such, is now committed to hold the interests and rights of the bleeding slave in abeyance for years to come; and I cannot be a party to such a contract—*no, not for an hour*. I write this with intense grief. A fine opportunity, purchased, too, at much expense of time, toil, and property, has been lost; and fresh difficulties have been thrown in the way of that Christian Union which shall open its arms to every professing believer in Christ, and for which every kind and gracious spirit is sighing and supplicating.’

The end, thus far, of the matter remains to be related. At the late meeting in Manchester, to organize a British District Alliance, it was stated in a report, signed by Sir Culling Eardley Smith and Dr. Steane, that since the meeting in London about fifty members had *withdrawn*, while others had answered doubtfully, leaving future circumstances, and especially the proceedings of the present Conference, to determine the course they would ultimately adopt. On the morning of the second day of that Conference, a resolution was brought in by Rev. E. Bickersteth, and seconded by Rev. J. H. Hinton, declaring slaveholders *ineligible to membership in the British*



*branch of the Alliance.* On this subject, Dr. Wardlaw, in his letter just published, says:—

*'It is quite clear, that the resolution just adopted at Manchester, as an article of the British organization, contains a principle which cannot be confined to British slaveholders. It is vain to blind ourselves to the consequence, or to attempt to conceal it; it breaks up the alliance with America. The state of church fellowship there, as already described, evidently, on the showing of our American brethren themselves, who were with us in the Conferences here, precludes its possibility on the principle of this resolution.'*

We believe so, too, and it now remains to be seen in what light the 'American brethren' will regard this proceeding on the part of the Manchester conference. We had intended to prove, from an abundance of letters and American papers in our possession, that these American brethren claimed a pro-slavery triumph in the London Conference; and we are fully of opinion that they had a right to do so. What will they now say to this somewhat sudden change on the part of those who assured them at their valedictory meetings, that they left behind them those who would defend both their characters and the position that had been taken in London? We are curious to know. But to what shall we attribute the altered course of proceeding? Mr. Bickersteth said, that unless the resolution was passed, the public would not believe that the British Alliance abominated slavery. But who had taught him this? From what facts did he draw such a conclusion? And how was it that the rest of his brethren came to adopt, so suddenly, the same opinion? We think no rational man can be at a loss to arrive at the truth on this matter, and however it may suit the humbled pride of a few mortified spirits to deny it, the fact will remain undoubted, (and every month will add some fresh illustrations), that the course pursued in London excited all but universal disgust and indignation, and that the erring parties discovered, between the fifth of September and the fifth of November, that they must retrace their steps, or the Alliance would be a nonentity, and the attempt to form it upon the principles adopted in the Conference on the subject of slavery, would be but to add another to the many proofs furnished to the world, that a paramount regard for the everlasting principles of truth and rectitude, and a holy and undaunted resolution to take those principles as the sole guide in the treatment of every question requiring decision, must precede union.

Should the Alliance fulfil the expectation which it has excited, that it will give to the world a faithful report of the various speeches delivered during its sittings, we shall probably return

to the subject, and avail ourselves of the opportunity of offering some suggestions which the length of our present article prevents us from now doing.

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### Brief Notices.

*New-Year's Day ; a Winter's Tale.* By Mrs. Gore. With Illustrations, by George Cruikshank. London: Fisher and Co.

THE example of Mr. Dickens appears to be infectious, and numerous competitors are now contesting with him the favour of juvenile readers during their season of annual festivity. Mrs. Gore is amongst the number, and the title of her present volume sufficiently indicates her design. It is exempt from the vicious qualities which have excluded fiction from many of our juvenile circles, and is adapted to cherish rather than repress the kindlier charities of our nature. A tendency to exaggerate in the portraiture of character is its main fault, and the issue of the tale is singularly out of keeping with the joyous, yet innocent recreations associated by our young people with New-year's-day. The tale is light, and its earlier and closing chapters are full of interest. John Talbot, the old and faithful servant of Sir Jasper, and George Foreman, the suffering and patient youth, pining away in an obscure court in the neighbourhood of St. James's, are the most fascinating pictures of the volume; yet, strange to say, a broken heart in the one case, and a premature death in the other, are the end to which they are conducted. The close of the tale is therefore sombre and painful. A dark cloud settles over the personages in whose fate we have been most interested, which the marriage of Miss Hallet with Lord Wroxton does not serve even partially to enlighten. This is a great fault in the artist, and ought especially to have been avoided in such a work. The impression left on the reader should have been pleasing, and we see no good reason why it was not so.

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*The Evangelical Alliance : Can Churchmen and Dissenters unite in it ? or, can Evangelical Non-Conformists hold Christian fellowship with State Episcopalians ?* By the Rev. William Thorn. London: Jackson and Walford.

WE perfectly concur with Mr. Thorn in his main position, and commend his tract to the candid perusal of our readers. It is a searching, honest, and fearless exposure of an effort from which, whatever incidental good may arise, we anticipate much ultimate evil.

*Glimpses of the Wonderful.* Third Series. London, Harvey and Darton.

A BEAUTIFUL little volume, in which the spirit and elegance of the illustrations are in happy keeping with the instructive and interesting character of the letter-press. We strongly commend it to favour, as admirably suited for a Christmas or New-Year's-Day present.

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*The Recreation.* A Gift-Book for Young Readers. With Engravings. Edinburgh, John Menzies; London, Orr and Co.

'THE Recreation' puts in its claim as a candidate for favour with the other gift-books of the season, and is as entertaining and informing as its previous volumes have been. The editor tells us that 'his object has been to blend amusement with instruction, to combine variety with permanent value, and carefully to exclude whatever has a tendency to injure the youthful mind.' In this object he has happily succeeded, and his volume—as our family circle testifies—possesses, in consequence, an absorbing interest to young people.

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*The Standard Edition of the Pictorial Bible.* Edited by John Kitto, D.D., F.S.A. With many hundred wood-cuts, and thirteen engravings on steel. Parts I. and II. London: Charles Knight.

WE need not say one word in commendation of the *Pictorial Bible*. Its value is universally admitted, and scholars of all classes are accustomed to avail themselves of its treasures. As an illustration of the geography, antiquities, political and natural history, and all which the Germans would call *Thing knowledge* pertaining to the Bible, it is unequalled in our language, and should be found in the library of every minister and intelligent reader. Ten years have now elapsed since its first publication, during which Dr. Kitto has been employed in the collection of materials, still further tending to the elucidation of the inspired volume. The design of the present edition is to incorporate such additions, so as materially to add to the value of the work, while its price—no mean consideration with theological students—is considerably diminished.

'There is no department,' says the Editor, 'of Biblical literature in which more advance has of late years been made, or on which more publications have appeared, than in that most interesting one devoted to the examination of the literary history and distinguishing circumstances of the several books which compose the Sacred Volume. In the present edition of the '*Pictorial Bible*,' increased attention has been therefore given to this department; and every book will be furnished with a new and more copious introduction, affording, so far as the plan of the work allows, the results of the best information with reference to it, which the most careful research has been able to supply.'



'The general result may thus be stated :—That the matter of the original work has undergone a most careful and elaborate revision : that nothing of interest or value in the original work is wanting in the new edition : and that large additions will be made, equal altogether, probably, to above one-third of the whole work, of the same kinds of accurate and interesting information which have secured for the Pictorial Bible the high consideration with which it has been favoured, both in this country and abroad.'

The historical illustrations which were so freely introduced into the former edition have been judiciously omitted, and their place is supplied 'by a large addition of real landscapes and objects of natural history and antiquities.' The work will be published in thirteen monthly parts, at four shillings each ; and in fifty-two weekly numbers, at one shilling each ; and has our most cordial good wishes for its success.

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*Lessons of Life and Death. A Memorial of Sarah Ball.* By Elizabeth Ritchie. John Snow, London.

THE subject of this brief sketch was born at Burwell, in Cambridgeshire, in the year 1827. 'The chief characteristics of her childhood were delight in reading, and abhorrence of falsehood.' Throughout her short life she was remarkable for the simplicity and truthfulness of her character. With an intense thirst for knowledge, she eagerly prosecuted her search for it so long as her strength permitted. From her earliest years she was much interested in the subject of religion ; 'but until the age of sixteen the prevailing sentiment of her heart was *fear*.' In her ninth year she entered the Moravian school at Bedford, where, through the preaching of Mr. Rogers, and the religious arrangements of that fraternity, her serious impressions were deepened. At fifteen she was removed to Wrentham, in Suffolk, where she was placed under the care of the author of the Memorial before us. Nature appears to have been lavish in her gifts towards her, and while at school she was the idol of her companions. The most prominent features of her character at this time were 'strong impulses, warm and gushing affections, quenchless ardour in study, and a natural nobleness which scorned to do any thing mean.' She made a public profession of religion in the early part of 1844. This step was taken with much diffidence and self-mistrust, but from it she derived both satisfaction and peace. In the summer of the same year she left school, and returned to Burwell, where we find her eagerly prosecuting her studies, as well as taking charge of her younger brother. Her love of teaching was great, and her interests were for a time concentrated on the establishment of a British school at Burwell. She lived to see the committee formed, and the grant of land obtained ; but while the foundations of the school-house were being dug, 'there passed by with solemn step and heavy tread, a train of bearers robed in mourning attire, on their way to deposit the

remains of the young and ardent projector in the grave, where there is no work, nor wisdom, nor device.' Thus was this pure and beautiful spirit transplanted, in her nineteenth year, to a more congenial clime, where the qualities of her mind possess an appropriate opportunity for their full developement. May the narrative of her brief career be the means of affording strength to the work, encouragement to the desponding, stability to the wavering, and the peace that passeth understanding to the sorrowing and agitated mind. The memorial is written in a pleasing style, with an evident desire for usefulness; and our only exception is to the dedication, the taste of which is not in keeping with our notion of good writing.

## Literary Intelligence.

### *Just Published.*

A Literal Translation of the Book of Psalms, intended to illustrate their poetical and moral structure, to which are added dissertations on the word "Selah," and on the authorship, order, titles, and poetical features of the Psalms. By the Rev. John Jebb, M. A. 2 Vols.

Florentine History, from the earliest Authentic Records to the Accession of Ferdinand the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany. By Henry Edward Napier, Capt. R.N. In 6 Vols. Vol. 1.

Lives of Alexander Henderson and James Guthrie, with Specimens of their Writings. Issued by the Committee of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland for the Publication of the Works of Scottish Reformers and Divines.

Bohn's Standard Library. The Works of Frederick Schiller, Historical and Dramatic. History of the Revolt of the Netherlands continued. Trials of Counts Egmont and Horn, Wallenstein and Wilhelm Tell. Historical Dramas. Translated from the German.

The Question 'Was St. Peter ever at Rome,' Historically considered. By Augustus Scheler, Doctor in Philosophy. Translated from the French by a Clergyman. With a Short Preface by the Translator.

Paul Gerhardt, an Historical Tale of the Lutherans and Reformed in Brandenburg, under the Great Elector. By C. A. Wildenhahn. Translated from the German, by Mrs. Stanley Carr.

Patristic Evenings. By John Birt, Author of a Summary of the Principles and History of Popery.

Illustrations of Eating, Displaying the Omnivorous Character of Man, and Exhibiting the Natives of Various Countries at Feeding Time. By a Beef Eater.

Youthful Developement, or Discourses to Youth, classified according to Character. By Samuel Martin, Minister of Westminster Chapel, Westminster.

Two Sermons Preached in Mare Street Chapel, Hackney, in consequence the Decease of Mrs. Cox, who departed this Life 18th Sept. 1846. 1. The

Funeral Sermon; 2. The Tribulation of Paul. Published by Request. By Daniel Katterns.

A Catechism of Church History in General, from the Apostolic Age to the Present Time, to which is added, a Catechism of English Church History, with a Summary of Principal Events in Chronological Order. By the Rev. W. F. Wilkinson, M. A., Theological Tutor of Cheltenham College.

Four Letters to the Rev. E. B. Elliott, on some Passages in his *Horæ Apocalyptice*. By the Rev. Dr. Candlish, Edinburgh.

Sectarianism, the Bane of Religion and the Church, and the Necessity of an Immediate Movement towards Unity.

The Principle of Free Inquiry and Private Judgment, and its Special Importance in the Present Times. By Robert S. Candlish, D. D.

Does the Established Church acknowledge Christ as its Head? This question answered, by the official statements of the Judges and Statesmen of the land, and the recent acts of the Established Church. By the Rev. James M'Cosh, A.M. Second edition, revised.

Evangelical Alliance; Minutes of the proceedings of the Conference, held in Freemason's Hall, London, August 19, 1846, and following days.

Evangelical Alliance; abstract of the proceedings and final resolutions of the Conference, held in Freemason's Hall, London, on August 19, and following days.

The Christian Treasury; containing contributions from Ministers and Members of various evangelical denominations. Part IX. Nov. 1846.

European Library.—History of the Counter Revolution in England for the re-establishment of Popery under Charles II. and James II. By Armand Carrel. History of the Reign of James II. By the Right Hon. C. J. Fox.

The Bonaparte Letters and Despatches, secret, confidential, and official, from the originals in his private cabinet. 2 vols.

The Psalms in Hebrew, with a critical, exegetical, and philosophic Commentary. By the Rev. George Phillips, B.D. 2 vols. Vol. I.

Lectures on the Acts of the Apostles, with an Appendix, in continuation of the inspired history, &c. By James Bennett, D.D.

Correspondence of John, fourth Duke of Bedford, selected from the originals at Woburn Abbey, with an Introduction. By Lord John Russell. Vol. III.

The Evangelical Alliance. Can Churchmen and Dissenters unite in it? or can evangelical nonconformists hold Christian fellowship with state episcopalians? By Rev. William Thorn, Winchester.

Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand; being an artist's impressions of countries and people at the Antipodes, with numerous illustrations. By George French Angus. 2 vols.

Murray's Library.—Rough Notes, taken during some rapid journeys across the Pampass, and among the Indians. By Sir Francis B. Head, Bart. Fourth edition.

Glimpses of the Wonderful. Third Series.



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